

JPRS-NEA-89-016

3 MARCH 1989



FOREIGN
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JPRS Report

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

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Near East & South Asia

REPRODUCED BY
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

19980713 080

Near East & South Asia

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Palestinian-Cuban Solidarity Week Celebrated
44040226 Nicosia *FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH* in Arabic
25 Dec 88 p 39

[By 'Abdallah Yunis]

[Text] Havana—The "Week of Solidarity with the Palestinian People" this year was particularly momentous since it was accompanied by major Palestinian events on 29 November—the Palestine National Council [PNC] meeting, the declaration of an independent Palestinian state, and the anniversary of the intifadah [uprising].

The week of solidarity was celebrated from 21 November to 11 December 1988.

On the morning of 21 November, Minister Levi Farah, chairman of the Cuban-Arab Friendship Association, read a statement at a conference attended by local and foreign journalists and Arab ambassadors in which he reviewed the program of activities and expressed congratulations on the occasion of the declaration of Palestinian independence.

The following morning Palestinian Ambassador 'Imad Jada' held a press conference in which he discussed the outcome of the PNC meetings in which he took part. He also answered questions at the conference which took place at the Cuban-Arab Friendship Association's headquarters. This was followed by a meeting held in the same place between female Arab diplomats and representatives of the Federation of Cuban Women, the Cuban Association for Peoples Friendship, and other popular organizations. Discussion dealt with the woman's role in the common struggle.

At the Palestinian ambassador's residence that same evening, awards were given to the winners of the literary competition in poetry, novels, and folklore on the subject of the Palestine problem. The ceremony was attended by comrades Alvarez Cambras, member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and vice chairman of the Cuban-Arab Friendship Association, and Levi Farah, chairman of the Cuban-Arab Friendship Association and construction materials industry minister, and comrades from the Federation of Cuban Women and the Cuban Youth Federation.

At night the Friendship Association invited guests to a musical concert by a Cuban band which played and sang national and revolutionary songs expressing solidarity with the Palestinian people.

On Wednesday 30 November a political seminar was held in the school for training cadres which belong to the Federation of Cuban Women. A member of the Palestinian Women's Federation gave a lecture about the Palestinian woman.

On Sunday 27 November: "Young Friends of Palestine" is the name of the kindergarten that is under construction in Alamar district, where Palestinian and Arab students worked voluntarily from 0800 until midday in building the school in coordination with the Cuban Communist Youth Federation.

Monday 28 November: A political seminar was held in the "Cadre Training School" that comes under the committees for the defense of revolution. Discussion dealt with the Palestine problem and its future prospects. A member of the Palestinian legation in Cuba gave a lecture before 90 school students, with the school director and members of the board of directors attending.

Tuesday 29 November: The main celebration event on the occasion of Palestinian People Solidarity Week was held in the afternoon in the dairy and food products plant. Foremost among those attending were (Jorge Linaris), Central Committee member and member of the General Secretariat of the Cuban Trade Union Federation. It was also attended by comrades Levi Farah; Luis Morejon, secretary of the People's Assembly and chairman of the National Committee for the Support of the Intifadah; Ernesto Abascal, head of the Middle East Department of Foreign Relations at the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party; and a large number of officials of the Cuban Association for Peoples Friendship, the Cuban-Arab Friendship Association, and the Middle East Department of the Cuban Foreign Ministry. The Palestinian ambassador gave a speech in which he thanked the Cuban Government and people for the continuing support of the Palestinian people. In conclusion, (Moriok) spoke about Cuba's friendship with the Palestinian people. The celebration was also attended by about 400 factory workers.

On the morning of 23 November the Cuban television "Morning Paper" program broadcast an 11-minute interview with the Palestinian ambassador.

On the morning of 24 November a panel discussion was held in the headquarters of the Cuban Movement for the Peace and Sovereignty of Peoples (the Cuban peace council) on the subject of the situation in Palestine, Lebanon, and the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic. It was attended by Arab diplomats and representatives of both liberation movements accredited to Cuba and popular and party organizations in the capital, Havana.

On Friday 25 November a symposium was held in the "Arab Home" in the old part of the capital on the subject of "the Palestine problem and the UN role" at which comrade (Frank Ortez), head of the International Organizations Division at the Cuban Foreign Ministry, gave a lecture. It was attended by a number of Cubans concerned with the Middle East affairs and Cuban officials. The speaker discussed the importance of the United Nations in solving problems. This was followed by a debate on the question of "the independent Palestinian state and the UN laws and resolutions."

REGIONAL

Iraqi Tanks Reportedly Sent to Beirut, Others Meant for Jordan

44230058 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew
10 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] Elements within the South Lebanese Army are saying that the Lebanese forces, under the command of Samir Ja'ja', introduced into operational service dozens of tanks received from the Iraqi military as a gift.

The tanks are said to be T-54's and T-55's which Iraq transferred to Ja'ja's control at the end of the war with Iran. Dozens of tanks were moved from Iraq to Beirut by sea and were introduced into operational service, thus improving the power and deterrent capability of the Lebanese Forces.

According to foreign publications, Iraq also intends to supply tanks to the Jordanian Army.

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GCC Integrated Power Grid Issues Discussed

44000287 Jeddah ARAB NEWS in English 9 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by Wahib Ghurab]

[Text] Bahrain, Jan. 8—The multibillion dollar electricity project linking the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] states on an integrated power grid is scheduled for completion by 2005, according to Jamil al-'Alawi, assistant undersecretary for electricity affairs in Bahrain and project supervisor.

Al-'Alawi described the project as a major step forward in enhancing economic and industrial cooperation between the GCC states of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Oman and Bahrain. GCC states are now spending \$3 billion on reserve electricity and this project will cut this cost to \$1.6 billion, he noted.

This is for the first time that six countries are planning to link up on an integrated power grid, al-'Alawi said. The idea first emerged in a meeting of GCC electricity

undersecretaries and a committee was formed to examine the idea objectively. National and international consulting companies were summoned and entrusted with the task of conducting economic feasibility studies for the project.

Research participants included the King Fahd Petroleum and Minerals University in Dhahran, the Kuwait Institute of Scientific Research, International Consulting Corporation, Dilbir Commonwealth, Saudi Consulting House and the Irish Electricity Corp.

"The outcome of these studies were quite encouraging. It was found that the GCC states will spend \$3 billion on electricity reserve alone up to 2005 if there is no linkage. If the power grid is established this expense can be brought down to \$1.6 billion. So the council states together would effectively gain a profit of \$1.4 billion by implementing the project," al-Alawi explained.

The project will go forward in three stages. During the first stage the northern GCC states (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar) will be connected by a power grid while the second stage will see the southern states of Oman and the UAE being linked together. During the third stage the northern and southern states will be connected.

Al-'Alawi said these stages were formulated due to some practical and economic problems faced by member states. The northern states already have complete internal electricity lines while the southern states will take some time to complete their internal electricity networks. The first stage of the scheme, linking the northern states is now under way.

"We are now facing some practical problems. Do we start by linking the Kingdom and Kuwait, then with Bahrain and later with Qatar? How do we specify the capital for the project and how can we fix the share of each country? How can we specify the expenses of the three stages, as well as operation and maintenance and the financial share of each country?" al-'Alawi asked.

Other related questions are: is there a need to establish a specialized body like the GCC Power Grid Corp. or is the present coordination committee enough? Can the power linkage between the states be undertaken individually in the beginning before they are brought under a unified body? Is there a need to establish a control center?

"We have outlined some basic principles for the project in association with the World Bank. Offers made by international companies will be mooted for discussion during the upcoming meeting of the GCC electricity undersecretaries," al-'Alawi noted. An extensive study focusing on the project's technical aspects will be conducted by a consulting company within 18 months, he added.

He said electricity power plants in the Kingdom operate with an oscillation rate of 60 per second while in other GCC states the oscillation rate is 50. However, he added that this will not prove a major obstacle in the way of the project. In Japan, power plants operating with 60 and 50 oscillations per second have been linked without any problem, he pointed out.

Al-'Alawi said the daily electricity requirements of GCC member states during summer and winter and possibility of power breakdown have been considered. He stressed that the GCC linkage will not lead to an increase in electricity charges in the member countries.

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Palestinians' Right of Return to Israel Discussed

44000303 Paris *AL-MUSTAQBAL* in Arabic

11 Feb 89 p 6

[Text] European officials recently posed the following questions to various Palestinians, including command elements of the PLO and leading figures in the West Bank and Gaza: "What in your opinion does the expression 'right of return for Palestinians' mean? Does this mean that the PLO will insist during the upcoming negotiations on the return of Palestinians to only the West Bank and Gaza or also to Israel within the 1948 borders?" Palestinian responses to these questions were not the same though all agreed on the right of all Palestinians to return or to establish the proposed Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. However, a number of Palestinians avoided responding to the part dealing with the return of Palestinians to Israel within the 1948 borders. This question reflects serious European concern over the "right of return" and how to deal with it.

Fatah, Amal Mend Rift, Undertake Joint Operations

44040227 Nicosia *FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH* in Arabic
15 Jan 89 pp 18-19

[Article by Husayn Hijazi: "Uprising in Lebanese Arena's Alliances; Fatah, Amal Have Ended 'Camp War' and Formed Joint Operations Room"]

[Text] Since the PLO was ousted from Beirut in 1982, Lebanon has sunk into a maelstrom of small but extremely fierce civil wars. Syria has also sunk in this maelstrom, and the West has steered away from Lebanese "terrorism" and the terrorism emanating from Lebanon.

The PLO has now returned as a party acceptable to all the Lebanese, regional, and international forces, except for Israel which, if it opts for war to escape the intifadah [uprising] dilemma, will find 'Arafat prepared for war, as he is prepared for a just peace.'

For the first time since 1982, it is now possible for the Palestinian fighters to leave their strongholds east of Sidon and to roam in any part of South Lebanon without feeling afraid of being arrested or liquidated by Amal's militias which have waged throughout the past few years a bloody war to prevent the PLO from restoring its influence in Lebanon.

Last Sunday, which coincided with the anniversary of Fatah's inception, PLO leaders in Sidon headed for al-Rashidiyah Camp, which is located 40 kms southward, to celebrate Fatah's day with their fighters who continued, while totally isolated, to resist a tight blockade imposed on them by Amal as of September 1986. The Palestinians in al-Rashidiyah paid a heavy price for their steadfastness in confronting the blockade as well as the Israeli attacks.

Nothing is more capable of compensating for sacrifices than the feeling of accomplishment. The Palestinians in Lebanon who last year watched the course of developments concerning the Palestinian cause have, as do their brothers in the occupied territories, their reasons for feeling proud of themselves, considering that they have contributed their share to achieving this transformation. As Yusuf, the commander of Shatila Camp, said a few days before the camp was demolished, the Palestinians in Lebanon have been able to offer their brothers in the homeland an example of the will's ability and advantage. However, nobody expected a year ago that these very fighters, who were relentlessly fought by Amal's militias, could play the role of a middleman, separating the Shi'ite militias which have been engaged for a week in the fiercest war since confrontations between Hizbullah and Amal began last April.

The fact is that the latest developments came a few days after conclusion of the agreement to end the camp war between Amal and the PLO. This agreement was signed in Sidon in the final week of last year. According to the 10 articles contained in the agreement, Amal has undertaken to lift the blockade against al-Rashidiyah Camp and to permit free military action against Israel through a joint operations room, in addition to permitting Palestinian evacuees to return to and restore their camps.

The Israeli enemy retaliated immediately against this new agreement, which he views as a dramatic change in South Lebanon's alliances, by raiding Amal's positions in Tibnin village, which is located north of Israel's "security belt," for the first time since the partial Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon in June 1985. The raid wounded 8 Amal members. On the same day, General Yosi Peled, the northern front commander, stated that the Israeli Army was investigating to determine if Amal will assist the "terrorists" from now on and that if this is the case, this army will intervene to put an end to such activity.

Perhaps Israel (and Syria) have been surprised by this sudden upturn in South Lebanon's alliances. For the first time, an agreement entailing decisive political significance has been reached without direct participation by

Damascus in the procedures connected with the agreement. However, it is difficult to interpret Damascus' silence on the new change in the alliances—a change which gives Yasir 'Arafat a new card in Lebanon—as disregard or denunciation. The truth is that there are two assumptions for interpreting the ambiguous Syrian position:

First assumption: Perhaps Syria gave Amal the go-ahead to conclude the agreement in the hope that Amal would facilitate the movement of Palestinians supporting the PLO and that this would encourage them in the foreseeable future to launch operations against Israel in contradiction of the current wish of the PLO chairman. According to this assumption, Damascus could be planning to change its old negative tactic and to embrace a more pragmatic policy based on a positive approach and on an endeavor to influence the Palestinians at a later stage.

Second assumption: Damascus has actually been caught by surprise. If this is true, then Amal will have violated all the rules of the game it had previously observed, especially the equation of its alliance with Damascus. Perhaps there are some reasons to support this assumption as being realistic, though they are not enough to confirm that it is sound. These reasons include the following:

1. The agreement between Amal and the PLO reflects the former's conviction that the Palestinians, due to the latest political developments in the Palestinian issue, especially the proclamation of a Palestinian state, no longer pose the obstacle that Amal had previously conceived them to pose to its political-sectarian plan. This conviction eliminates one of the fundamental causes of the camp war which Amal waged against the Palestinians.

2. Amal's need to establish a truce, even if only temporarily, with the Palestinians in Lebanon to be able to devote itself to settling accounts with the force competing with it in representing the Shi'ite sect, namely Hizbullah. Amal has an immediate interest in such a truce which is dictated by its war of life or death against Hizbullah. Some Amal circles believe that the alliance with the Palestinians will come at the expense of the traditional alliance between Hizbullah and the Palestinians.

3. Amal's conviction that the PLO's latest tendencies, which give priority in the Palestinian strategy to the intifadah and to diplomatic pressures, make it possible to establish military cooperation in the south between Amal and the PLO as long as the Palestinians maintain a degree of stability in the current phase. This contrasts the tendencies of both the radical Palestinian dissidents and of Hizbullah.

These three reasons may have contributed to the crystallization of a tendency within Amal demanding that the alliances be upturned. We should note, however, that collectively these reasons do not respond practically—they rather contradict—to any demands voiced by Syria for supporting an Amal-PLO alliance. The fact is that we

may be witnessing a dramatic change in the Shi'ite organization with the greater influence in South Lebanon in the wake of the assassination of Amal's more radical leaders in the south last September by Hizbullah members, according to Nabih Birri, Amal's chairman.

It is likely that Damascus' vacillating policy on intervention in the ongoing fighting in West Beirut and in the south demonstrates the confusion experienced by the Syrians in connection with what position to take. Though closer to supporting Amal, their ally, the Syrians must at the same time take into consideration the latest change in their ally's stance toward 'Arafat. If it becomes certain that this stance has been taken without coordination with Syria, then the stance will definitely change Syria's view of its alliance with Amal. What is more, Damascus will not hesitate to punish its favored ally if the latter has, according to this assessment, actually committed this major violation. But whatever the undeclared Syrian position is, it will not alter the fact that 'Arafat has been able to score an additional decisive point vis-a-vis Syria—that is if the latest coup in alliances will lead to reducing Damascus' traditional influence in the Islamic areas, particularly in the south. The fact of what is happening is that 'Arafat has been able to regain his influence, to counterbalance Syria's influence, and to act as an equalizer in the division of polarization. This is the significance of the radical change in the Lebanese arena's alliances, considering that 'Arafat is enjoying the trust of both the Christian and the Islamic camps now that Amal has been compelled to ally itself with the PLO in the south.

There is no shade of doubt that 'Arafat will try in the near future to exploit the emerging change, especially in the south, to restore the Palestinian influence there. He will be doing so under conditions more opportune than in the past now that he has put Amal securely on his side. This upturn in the conditions means firing the last bullet at the Israeli "Galilee Peace" operation which heaved its last breath prior to this time. The fact is that both Israel and Damascus should fear as of now this change which gives 'Arafat greater ability to control the fate of war and peace on the northern front. In analyzing the Palestinian strategy which is currently focused on diplomatic efforts, it would be a grave mistake to think that 'Arafat wants to return to the contact lines with Israel on the northern front just so that he may be more capable of safeguarding his commitments. Rather, 'Arafat is there now so that he may be more capable of turning on the "faucet" from the south, should the future demand it, in order to put added pressure on Israel and, perhaps, on the United States. The Palestinian commitment to renounce terrorism does not in any case mean a Palestinian commitment to renounce the armed struggle which is very different from terrorism.

The latest coup in the south is a strong reminder to both Israel and Syria that it is difficult to wipe out 'Arafat's role, whether within the framework of the Middle East crisis or of solving the Lebanese crisis. But if this

development is likely to give the Palestinian negotiator a new card in the future, its greater significance at present is that it may lead to creating the conditions conducive to enacting the theory of parallel recognition between the trio most deeply involved in the Middle East conflict and in Lebanon: Israel, the PLO, and Syria.

Israel must be convinced now that the option of opening the northern front is no longer a unilateral option and that, consequently, this option will no longer lead from now on to what is implicitly called in Israel the third option or the Syrian option.

As for Damascus, the recent developments throughout the past year and the most recent upturn in the local balances in the south and in Lebanon should contribute to a serious re-evaluation of Syria's entire strategy, not just of one tactic. All that President Hafiz al-Asad has wished for is being achieved now, thanks to the success of the Palestinian strategy and not to the success of Syria's strategic balance. The U.S.-Israeli relationship is beginning to be exposed to a rift now that the Americans have agreed to dialogue with the PLO. The entire international community is moving closer to the Palestinian peace conditions, which are a part of the Arab peace conditions. Thus, the Syrian president's declared calls for continuing the fight against the PLO are no longer convincing. Moreover, these calls are no longer capable of succeeding.

While the erosion in Lebanon continues, it is possible for one to believe that mutual recognition between the regional parties involved in the crisis is likely to contribute to putting an end to bloodshed not just in Lebanon but in the area. Lebanon's wound, which has been bleeding for 13 years, is one of the complications emanating from former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's policy in the area. If the area has begun to recover gradually from the consequences of this policy, then the recovery should also include Lebanon. The PLO and Syria together can create the conditions for a decisive change in Lebanon. As for thinking of other options, such thinking can only prolong the crisis which has been proven to be a [devouring] goat for all concerned.

Will the latest coup in the Lebanese-Palestinian alliances be a prelude to a coup in the political thinking of the regional parties involved in this maelstrom-like game? Perhaps the return of the Palestinians, who were ousted from Lebanon 6 years ago, to the forefront may revive optimism in the possibility of a transformation now that the Palestinian issue itself, which is one of the causes of the war, is moving closer to a solution.

President of Palestinian Workers Union
Interviewed on Uprising
44040224 Amman *AL-DUSTUR* in Arabic 9 Jan 89 p 6

[Report on interview with Haydar Ibrahim, president of the Federation of Palestinian Workers, by Yahya al-Juju: "President of the Federation of Palestinian Workers to

AL-DUSTUR: Palestinian Workers' Blood Was First Spark To Ignite Intifadah; Egyptian Workers Union Invited To Participate in Next Arab Workers Federation's Conference; Israel Deducts Forcefully 20 Percent of Arab Workers' Wages; In Its First Year, Intifadah Offered 523 Martyrs and 70,000 Wounded and Detainees"—date and place not given]

[Text] The General Federation of Palestinian Labor Unions participated in making the decision declaring independence and announcing the creation of the independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. The resolution was issued by the PNC's [Palestine National Council] 19th session—the intifadah [uprising] session—which convened in Algiers.

Haydar Ibrahim, the president of the Federation of Palestinian Workers who is currently visiting Jordan, has said that the federation blesses the PLO's peace initiatives to achieve the Palestinian people's objectives of freedom and independence and of defeating the hateful Israeli occupation. The federation also supports continued armed struggle and Palestinian struggle with all means and methods until repatriation, self-determination, and creation of the Palestinian state are achieved.

In an interview with AL-DUSTUR, Ibrahim added: We are working, and we have two options before us.

The first is the sweeping peace assault launched by the PLO.

The second is to support the glorious intifadah in the occupied Palestine and to mobilize the Palestinian masses at home and abroad to be prepared to carry on with, to protect and to nurture the Palestinian revolution. This means "the olive branch in one hand and the rifle in the other."

This is why I say that the Palestinian intifadah has not been a spontaneous uprising, as some people depict it. Rather, it is a revolutionary popular uprising born legitimately to legitimate parents. The intifadah's mother is the PLO and its father is the Palestinian people in their entirety. This is why the intifadah persists and why the struggle continues. The role of the Federation of Palestinian Workers, who constitute the intifadah's and revolution's fuel, is a major fundamental role until victory is achieved.

The federation is helping the creation of the Palestinian state with its material, moral, and information capabilities and by organizing the ranks of the Palestinian working class and building institutions capable of managing future state programs.

Blessed Intifadah's Beginning

Regarding the Federation of Palestinian Workers' role in aiding and supporting the occupied territories' workers, especially since these workers have stopped working in

Israeli enterprises in response to the UNC's [Unified National Command] instructions, Ibrahim said:

Regarding the Palestinian workers and support for the intifadah in the occupied Arab territories, it is well known that the first spark which ignited the intifadah on 7 December 1987 was the blood of the Palestinian workers martyred at the Erez military roadblock which had been set up at the gates of Jabaliya Camp where four workers were martyred and five others wounded. This incident touched off the Palestinian wrath. The working masses rose to become the influential vanguard leading the intifadah and shouldering the burden of perpetuating its struggle procession. Consequently, hundreds of Palestinian labor union leaders, headed by Shahir Sa'd, chairman of the West Bank Palestinian Workers Federation; 'Adil Abu-Rumaylah; Ghassan Ayyub; George Hazbun; Mahmud Ziyadah; 80 members of the Executive Committee; and 50 members of the Administrative Council and of the federation branches were arrested. The federation's offices were raided and their contents looted, numerous unionist offices were shut down, unionist liberties were suspended, unionist leaders were prohibited from leaving the country, and the law on 6-month administrative detention without trial was enforced.

Histadrut

The so-called [General] Federation of Israeli Workers, or Histadrut, has also taken part and continues to take part in the Israeli occupation authorities' fascist acts and repressive practices against our unarmed people and workers.

They [Histadrut] deduct "forcefully" 20 percent of our workers' wages as taxes; they practice all forms of racial discrimination against them; and they pay the Palestinian worker wages that are 36 percent lower than those paid the Israeli worker, keeping in mind that the work done by our Palestinian worker requires a physical and mental effort, that he works 12-14 hours daily, that he is denied termination-of-service compensation, vacations, health and social insurance, and has no guarantee of continued work.

Ibrahim added that the total sum deducted by the Israeli authorities from our workers' wages from 1967 to the end of last year amounted to nearly \$1.8 billion. These deductions are controlled by the Israeli Ministry of Defense and the Histadrut.

Intifadah's Harvest

According to what has been learned from approximate statistics, the Palestinian people offered in the intifadah's first year 523 martyrs, 30,000 wounded, 35,000 detainees, 5,000 wounded who are considered to be disabled, 2,000 abortions caused by poisonous gases, 4,000 homes demolished, and 1,000 citizens deported forcefully from their occupied homeland. Ibrahim has noted that the living conditions of the workers there are

extremely hard and that they have no employment opportunities, even though the UNC has drafted a program to solve this problem by relying on intrinsic cooperation and by setting up national establishments. The workers' strikes vary in duration, depending on the situation's requirements and on the UNC's instructions. Apart from this, the Federation of Palestinian Workers, in cooperation with the PLO, provides material aid for all detainees and wounded, to the martyrs' families, and to whoever is exposed to material damages as a result of confrontation with the Israeli occupation authorities.

Moral Support

Morally, the Federation of Palestinian Workers holds concerted contacts with all friends in the international arena to send numerous delegations to visit the Arab workers in Palestine so that these delegations may familiarize themselves with conditions and may witness the terrorism and fascism to which the Palestinian workers are subjected. These international delegations have performed a significant and influential role in exposing the terrorist actions and in gaining more international supporters who have declared their solidarity with our Arab people.

Moreover, international organizations, such as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the African Labor Union Organization, the World Labor Federation, and the Free Federation have denounced the occupation's fascism and racism strongly. During the ILO [International Labor Organization] conference, which will convene in Geneva next June, the Arab group will present a draft resolution condemning the Israeli occupation. If the resolution passes, a demand will be made to expel Israel from the ILO because of its failure to adhere to the organization's charter and to the Geneva accords that call for protecting human rights and unionist liberties. The Palestinian unionist struggle at home and abroad is an indivisible unit which demands coordination and concerted contacts to serve the strategic objective of defeating the occupation, gaining independence, and establishing an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.

Developments and Political Situation

Regarding the course of developments and the Arab and international position toward the political situation in the Palestinian arena, Ibrahim said:

At a time when Arab solidarity was crystallized and when sisterly Iraq scored its glorious victories, and relying on international detente, the PLO declared its political program which lays down the foundations for a just and honorable peace and which offers the area security and stability. The plan was supported by the world community. On the other hand, the occupying Israeli authorities have drawn up an aggressive program by forming a war cabinet which includes 5 former ministers of defense who have a deep-rooted history in

crime. Their program says no to peace, no to the PLO, no to a Palestinian state, no to negotiations, and no to the international conference. This makes it clear that the program reflects nothing but malice and hatred for the Palestinian people and for the entire Arab nation, and that aggression and threats to the Middle East's peace and security will continue under the leadership of Shamir who is considered to be the top terrorist in our area. In 1944, Shamir assassinated Britain's Middle East representative at the latter's headquarters in Cairo. Before the assassination, Shamir was known by the name of Yitzhaq Yezernitski, the native of a Polish village on the Soviet borders. He worked in the Mosad from 1956-66 under the name of Yitzhaq Shamir.

Moreover, a poll conducted among the Jewish people shows that 44 percent of them clearly reject the PLO. This confirms Israel's continued adoption of an aggressive expansionist policy at the expense of the Palestinian people who must understand the serious nature of this Zionist thinking.

Our program is clear and explicit. We are engaged in a continued struggle. We are also prepared to bring success to an international peace conference that guarantees our firm and inalienable historical rights. This requires further vigilance and preparation. It also requires putting all resources at the intifadah's disposal and organizing our Palestinian people's ranks to safeguard Palestinian national unity.

Coordination of Labor in Arab Countries

On the means to coordinate the efforts of Palestinian workers in the Arab countries, Ibrahim said:

In 1974, a conference held by the Arab Labor Organization in Rabat, Morocco, in the presence of the three parties to production in the Arab homeland—governments, businessmen, and workers—adopted a resolution calling for treating the Palestinian worker as a native worker of the host country and for giving him all the rights granted the Arab native worker. Only 50 percent of this has been implemented. In some Arab countries, Palestinian workers continue to be subjected to some difficulties and hardships, such as arbitrary expulsion, cancelled residence permits, and lack of employment opportunities. These workers are often coercively deported from the host countries without even being told of their destination. They also lack accredited identity cards and passports. This is why the Federation of Palestinian Workers makes concerted contacts with the Arab countries concerned to alleviate the hardship experienced by our workers in some Arab countries. We succeed at times, thanks to the help of the sisterly Arab labor federations and to some Arab ministers of labor who sympathize with our workers' struggle, especially since the Palestinian workers have contributed effectively to building and developing the Arab countries and since they possess a good character and skills which they employ to increase and enhance production quantitatively and qualitatively and to bolster these countries' economy and

stability. We demand that the host Arab countries consider these workers a trust in their hands and temporary guests who will return to their independent Palestinian state sooner or later.

Organizing Employment of Palestinian Workers

On whether the Federation of Palestinian Workers will, now that a Palestinian state has been proclaimed, conclude agreements to protect the Palestinian workers similar to the agreements which countries conclude to organize the employment of their workers, Ibrahim said:

As part of our programs as a labor movement and in cooperation with the PLO, we will contact the sisterly Arab countries and friendly countries to study and draft labor agreements to organize the employment of our workers. This will be done when independence is achieved.

For example, there are in Egypt nearly 7,000 Palestinian workers who need work and residence permits. I have discussed their problem with the minister of manpower and with the chairman of the Egyptian Labor Federation. The minister has, thankfully, issued a decree which calls for providing employment to these workers and for securing their right of residence. These workers are citizens of the occupied Gaza Strip and they bear Palestinian travel documents issued by the Arab Republic of Egypt.

Such a case occurs in other Arab countries. Through our contacts and our various means, we manage to overcome some of these difficulties.

Upon establishment of the Palestinian state, the federation will conclude labor agreements with a number of countries where Palestinian workers exist so as to protect their rights and unionist gains the way the rights and gains of these countries' citizens who work in other countries are protected. This tendency and the efforts to enact it will be included among the priorities of the Palestinian state.

Egyptian Workers Federation

Regarding his recent visit to the Egyptian Workers Federation, which is not a member of ICATU [International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions], and the point reached by bilateral relations in the Arab arena, Ibrahim said:

It is well known that the membership of the Egyptian Workers Federation, which encompasses nearly 15 million workers, in ICATU was suspended in the wake of conclusion of the Camp David Accords. In this phase, the Egyptian workers have begun to perform their national and pan-Arab role in serving the Palestinian cause. This is why we have visited the Egyptian federation in response to an official invitation to hold unionist

and political talks with the federation leaders. Politically, the viewpoints were identical. The Egyptian Workers Federation has declared its support and backing for the PLO, for the PNC resolutions, for the proclamation of independence and of the Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, and for continued struggle with all means against the Zionist enemy. It has also declared its continued support and backing for the popular intifadah in occupied Palestine and its denunciation of all the fascist means of oppression and repression employed by the Israeli enemy against the Palestinian people. The federation has further stressed the need for an effective international peace conference, denounced the tyrannical Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people's camps in sisterly Lebanon, and condemned all U.S. threats against Arab countries and peoples.

Regarding the Camp David accords, the Egyptian Workers Federation has stressed that these accords are as good as abolished because they have fallen and ended, and have become forgotten history. Moreover, it is well known to all Arab workers and citizens that the Egyptian Workers Federation rejected from the outset normalization of Egyptian-Israeli relations and stopped Yitzhaq Navon, a Zionist terrorist, from visiting the iron and steel plant in Hulwan by staging a sit-in within the plant and at its entrances. This is a historic, patriotic act that must be recorded for Egypt's workers.

At the unionist level, we no longer find any justification for the Egyptian Workers Federation's absence from its role and seat in ICATU. This is why we have stressed the need to invite the Egyptian Workers Federation to attend and take part in ICATU's eighth conference which will be held in Algiers next May so that this patriotic Arab federation may assume its normal vanguard and leadership role in the Arab labor movement.

A statement to this effect has been issued by the Iraqi, Palestinian, Jordanian, and Sudanese labor federations, and a copy of the statement has been sent to the other Arab federations along with the call for reviving the Egyptian Workers Federation's membership and position in ICATU.

List for Palestine Government Presented
44000285 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST
in English 22 Jan 89 p 8

[Text] Bethlehem Mayor Ilyas Frayj is among the 16 Palestinians in the territories and outside who are to be members of the provisional Palestinian government when it is set up, the AL-NAHAR newspaper published in East Jerusalem said yesterday. The paper, which is pro-Jordanian, said its information came from Palestinian sources in 'Amman.

The other 15 members, according to the newspaper, are Mahmud 'Abbas, a senior PLO official, who directed the hijacking of the Achille Lauro; Muhammad Milhim, former mayor of Halhul, who was deported to Jordan;

PLO leaders Yasir 'Abd Rabbuh, 'Abd-al-Halim Ahmad, Sa'id Kamal, Khalid al-Hasan, 'Abd-al-Majid Shuman; Prof. Edward Said who lives in the United States; 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Hajj; AL-FAJR editor Hanna Sanyurah; Faysal al-Husayn; now under Israeli administrative detention; former Nablus mayor Bassam al-Shak'ah; former member of Jordanian parliament Tahir al-Masri; former Hebron mayor Mustafa al-Natshah and Intisar al-Wazir, the widow of assassinated PLO military head, Abu Jihad.

ALGERIA

Bendjedid Names 3 New Secretaries of State

*45190038c Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French
 19 Jan 89 p 2*

[Article: "President Goes Ahead With Nomination of Three Secretaries of State"]

[Text] President Chadli Bendjedid received the head of government, Mr Kasdi Merbah, in his presidential office yesterday afternoon where Mr Merbah presented him a proposal for creating several new secretaries of state and nominations to fill the positions.

In consequence the president named:

- Mr Ahmed Noui as secretary of state for tourism, in the office of the head of government.
- Mr Abdenour Keramane as secretary of state for vocational training, in the Ministry of Education and Training.
- Mr Lakhdar Bayou as secretary of state for cottage industries, in the Ministry of Light Industries.

Ahmed Noui, Secretary of State for Tourism

Born 26 July 1948 at Sour El Ghoziane, he is married and the father of three.

He has served successively as a judge on the Supreme Court, director of research in the office of the president, and general secretary in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

He has a diploma from ENA [National School of Administration], a degree in economics, and another in general and applied mathematics.

Mr Abdenour Keramane, Secretary of State for Vocational Training

Mr Keramane, 50, is married and the father of three.

He is an engineer who graduated from the National School of Bridges and Roadways in Paris.

He entered EGA [expansion unknown] at the time of independence, serving in various capacities before becoming general manager of Sonelgaz when it was first created, a position he held until 1981.

In the Ministry of Public Works he served as chief engineer and director of the National School of Public Works.

Subsequently he was named to the Commission on Scientific and Technological Research (CRST), a position he held until its dissolution in 1986.

He was also president of the board of directors of the Durable Goods Investment Fund, an instructor at the National Polytechnic School, and a consultant to the ISGP [expansion unknown].

Mr Keramane was active in the Federation of France of the FLN [National Liberation Front].

Mr Lakhdar Bayou, Secretary of State for Cottage Industries

Born on 18 January 1942 at Ksar El Boulhari (West Medea), he earned a bachelor's degree and diploma from the Ben Aknour Franco-Muslim School in 1962.

Mr Bayou also received a degree in economic sciences from the University of Algiers in 1968.

From 1965 to 1967 he was chief of economic research at Sonelgaz. He served Sonelgaz from 1967 to 1969 as head of the economic research service, from 1969 to 1970 as general secretary, from 1970 to 1979 as financial director, and from 1979 to 1981 as director of administrative control and finance. From 1981 to 1988 he was general secretary of the Ministry of Heavy Industries.

Since July 1988 he has been president of the Construction Investment Fund.

UGTA Conference Debates Political Orientation
45190038b Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE
in French 27 Jan 89 p 8

[Article by Ziane Farrah: "National UGTA Conference: Schisms"]

[Text] Changes or schisms? One has to talk about both in the wake of the Sixth Session of the National Council of the UGTA [National Union of Algerian Workers] held on 10-11 January 1989. Though virtually unnoticed because of a certain glib rush to banalize the most striking events, this Council—the first at the level of the mass organizations—marked a turning point in the history of the trade union movement.

As if coming out from too long a hibernation, the trade union stretched lazily and shook the sleep out of its eyes during the course of this national Council, the sixth since

the Congress of 1986, but the first of its kind in terms of its nature and subject. The rush of events since 5 October—the economic reforms, the popular unrest, the Sixth FLN [National Liberation Front] Party Congress, the emergence of the Front, and the winds of political reform that everyone sees blowing, for good or ill, depending on one's point of view—all that has caused resentment and complaints in the trade union to boil over. "Our mistake was to have worked from socialist principles at a time of bourgeois ascendancy," says the secretary general of the Bouira Wilaya union, adding: "We have worked with all the past governments. In the future we will work only with a socialist government, on the basis of clear, specific programs that have been discussed with us."

Is there talk of schism? Yes, in a way. In any case, it is talk based on taking stock of the situation and reaching a conclusion: Members of the Council insist that the government can no longer ignore the workers. "There are 2 and 1/2 million workers, and if you include their dependents, they represent more than half the population. It is no longer enough for their trade union to be listened to, which was not done in any event, or consulted merely to provide cover for actions taken by the authorities. They must be heeded, in everything having to do with labor affairs in particular and with society in general. That is the way to avoid those antisocial actions being taken, which we are powerless to do anything to stop." Yes, there is dialogue and concentration, according to the delegates—but not passive obedience or submission. A second judgment: Labor's disciplined support of the party has led to managerial high-handedness as surely as fire leads to smoke. In the aftermath of the "social peace" concept, which was laid to rest in 1975, the trade union was led down the primrose path of collaboration and tagging along. The trade unionists are still in favor of social peace, but not peace based on a compromise that leaves the workers and the people bearing the burdens. Whence the necessity, acknowledged on all sides, of getting back to their real identity, drawing their strength from the workers, re-establishing their legitimacy; as one delegate says—politically associated with the front on the basis of the National Charter, but not as one of its fiefdoms.

A third judgment: the old relationships of the trade union, its organic and organizational styles, have led the UGTA up a blind alley. "Where once we were the representatives of the workers, we have now become their managers." Their credibility has melted away like snow in the sun. The trade unions have become firefighters, and if that continues "there will come a time when the trade union will be called on to lay workers off." To escape this bind, "the trade union must quit being like a corpse on a stretcher being carried on one side by the workers and on the other by the executive branch and the political institutions. It must have its own life, drawing its strength and its purpose solely from the workers. It must become the workers." Bursting into the Palace of Nations just before the conclusion of the Council, Mehri

summed up the general concern in one short sentence of extraordinary political import: "The trade union's first mission is to defend the rights of the workers." Such an attitude on the part of the trade union has developed in consequence of the FLN's abandonment of its role in the government apparatus—which sometimes required the Front and the UGTA to serve as apologists, but above all required coordination and dialogue, assistance and support to the regime, within the framework of the National Charter, party congress resolutions, and the Front's Central Committee—for the National Charter (as members of the National Council made quite clear) is only a distant memory for many of the ministerial heads. And thus they have arrived at their conclusion.

"The political landscape has changed," said a delegate from Tizi-Ouzou who listened to many of the speeches at the Council. "There is a real sense of urgency about the situation. The trade union must take charge of its own destiny...partisan solidarity must give way to labor solidarity. It will still be politically oriented toward the FLN, but will maintain its autonomy as a trade union." Another member of the Council indicated that in the wake of the October events centrifugal tendencies in the trade union pose the threat of fragmentation, and there is a real possibility that rival trade unions may be created. Instances in Annaba and Tizi-Ouzou were cited. Of course, most of the speakers said, there is plenty of support for trade unionism at the grass-roots level, but the UGTA's hands are tied. It took nearly 10 years for the government to send labor rights legislation to the APN [National Popular Assembly]. And it is still up in the air! Not only that, but there are the sacrosanct provisions of the statutes and the internal by-laws of the UGTA, drawn up at a time when political realities were totally different. What to do? "There is open opposition in the rank and file to everything that has to do with the old system, and the National Council must be guided by the rank and file." There is no easy way to escape the horns of this dilemma! The members of the Council have done some real soul-searching, a fact which was pointed out prophetically in the December 1988 issue (No. 11) of *REVOLUTION ET TRAVAIL* [“Revolution and Labor”], the national UGTA publication. Belaid, the coordinator of the Algiers wilaya union, discussing the trade union movement as a whole at the outset of deliberations, invited "Those who have not already done so to have their blood type tested." In other words, according to another delegate from Algiers, where does the trade union stand with the workers, who are our only protection?

This subject was reportedly discussed passionately and at great length during the Council. And what with positions ranging from "I represent a constituency, it is behind me." to "We have been the managers, not the representatives, of the workers," there was great disarray against a background including not only the events of October but also the disturbing torrent of political reforms whose purpose remains obscure. This disarray bitterly divided the Council on the question of whether

now is the time to hold a UGTA congress (the next ordinary congress is scheduled for early 1991), whether to call it a "special congress" or an "early regular congress," whether preparations for it should start from the bottom (with a congress of the wilaya unions) or the top. Many delegates, including the secretary general himself, were apprehensive of the "danger" of setting a precedent for the other mass organizations. Some might disagree with such a position, but Mr Mehri apparently helped break the impasse by informing the Council that the UNJA [National Union of Algerian Youth] had already decided to hold a special congress. Are its problems different? Probably. All the same, leaders at the base of the UGTA structure, concerned about prospects for re-election, faced a serious obstacle in an electoral system based on Article 121 of the party statutes, an article literally abrogated by the Sixth Congress. The Secretariat did submit, and the Council adopted, a set of organic guidelines defining the composition of the committee on candidates for the trade union elections and expanding the candidate roster to allow three nominees for each seat (instead of the single list), but this was a makeshift: the statutes and bylaws can only be modified by a congress.

The National Council, while upholding the principle that instructions for the next congress will come to the base organizations from the top, reportedly ended up deciding to advance the next congress to a date that will be set later on.

Abderrezak Bouhara Interviewed on Pluralism Issue

45190038a *Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE*
in French 27 Jan 89 pp 6-7

[Interview with Abderrezak Bouhara, executive secretary of the Central Committee of the FLN, by Ziane Farrah and Zahir Gadouche: "Getting to the Heart of Things, With Mr Abderrezak Bouhara"; date and place not given; first paragraph is *REVOLUTION AFRICAINE* introduction]

[Text] When the president decided the National Liberation Front Party would become the National Liberation Front [FLN], the change he had in mind was more than cosmetic. Policy, an action program, and institutions are all involved. But in practice? Ordinary citizens and party activists are asking questions. What changed when the "Party" became the "Front?" How is the Front to relate to opposition organizations? What kind of relations does the Front have with the mass organizations, and what will those relations be like in the future? Is it a multiparty system or pluralism within the party? Where does the FLN fit into the new organizational structure of the regime? Is the democratic transition threatened by creeping normalization? Is there a real National Charter or only a National Liberation Front Charter? Mr Abderrezak Bouhara, executive secretary of the Central Committee of the FLN, the man also in charge of mass organizations and development, responds to these as well as

other questions asked by both citizens and party loyalists, in a series of interviews with REVOLUTION AFRICAINE. He goes to the heart of things, to the critical factors, and speaks in a direct style, avoiding pomposity and cliches. It is a New Look, [preceding two words in English] oriented toward dialogue and the clash of ideas, toward diversity of expression based on a common denominator.

[REVOLUTION AFRICAINE] Political reforms are under way. Exactly how will the National liberation Front be structured? Are we moving toward a multiparty system or toward a pluralistic Front?

[Bouhara] We must engage in some self-criticism on that issue. Back when the National Charter was amended, or in the initial stages of preparation for the last [party] congress, we should have opened up a debate on this important question. The National Liberation Front Party made a mistake by avoiding any discussion of political pluralism.

Perhaps it was only the "weight of the past," but many people saw this attitude as an indication of paralysis. It is a pity, for the debate certainly would have unfolded under better conditions than those that prevailed on the very eve of the congress. We lacked the necessary courage and political vision.

Things being as they are, one must say that the party militants clearly stated their opinion on the issue. They rejected any idea of a multiparty system. That position, which they expressed both before and during the congress, has certainly changed somewhat, but we must persevere energetically with the work of political clarification.

When people have unceasingly and vigorously defended such a position, you don't just go tell them from one day to the next that the position has been changed. It is not merely a defensive reaction by a political machine whose "gains" are being threatened, as some people have a tendency to say. Many people have very firm convictions about this, even if their reasoning is buttressed by a strong emotional element, which is fully justified by the history of the National Liberation Front.

[REVOLUTION AFRICAINE] Doesn't that attitude endanger the process of transforming the NFL Party into the National Liberation Front?

[Bouhara] Yes, that is absolutely right. And that is why we must avoid framing the discussion as a choice between a multiparty and a one-party system. The basic problem lies elsewhere. For the National Liberation Front it is a question not only of resolving its internal differences but of making its peace with the masses. In our thinking about this, we should thus try to be responsive to popular demands. The people, in the demands they have been expressing in various ways for several

years now, most recently in an increasingly violent way, have clearly shown their inclination to challenge individuals, and above all established practices.

What we have, in other words, is violent criticism of the quality of the machinery of government. What must be appreciated is that this criticism has not been focused, at least in an explicit way, on any particular aspect or any one blueprint for society, nor has it exclusively targetted any governmental institution or the NLF Party. So let's get off the FLN Party's back and quit denouncing it. That attitude is unfair. The party is far from being the source of "all ills."

[REVOLUTION AFRICAINE] But it must be admitted that in the past it did have a sort of monopoly on power... Otherwise, how can the reforms be explained?

[Bouhara] The reforms, that is various transformations and changes in the organization and operation of certain mechanisms in the system, were indeed indispensable. It must be admitted that the deplorable practices so widely denounced were due to the fact that procedures to deal with them—and especially for the people to deal with them—were not in operation, and in some cases access to them may even have been denied. It is not my intention to go on here to analyze the causes that dictated political reforms. What is important now is that the time is ripe for them, and they must be successfully implemented. I don't think there is any disagreement on this point.

[REVOLUTION AFRICAINE] More specifically....

[Bouhara] More specifically, the important thing is to review the entire political, economic, and social system to come up with a system of organization and operation that eliminates the practices citizens have denounced.

People are not satisfied with the comportment of deputies, the modalities for choosing candidates for political office, the way elections are conducted; people are up in arms over the circumvention of established regulations about the appointment of officials; people are rebelling against arbitrary and unjust acts; they are protesting against the impunity enjoyed by proven embezzlers; they do not understand why no action is taken against individuals guilty of illicit enrichment—and these are just a few examples.

In a word, the people want more justice, effective enforcement of administrative procedures, and institutions capable of addressing the problems at hand.

The initiative came from on high, from the highest level, from the president himself. The reforms announced since December 1987, those undertaken in the economic domain since the beginning of 1988 and which have started to move faster and become broader in scope since the end of last year, do in fact respond to the problems the country is facing.

The country's internal development has been marked by changes which we should have quickly brought under control, codified, and institutionalized. These changes were incorrectly understood by the party apparatus. It took the president himself to give the necessary impetus to a veritable renovation of our society. Unlike the "intermediate cogs" in the machinery, he heard the call of the grass-roots party militants and the popular masses. His initiative and the reforms he announced are broad in scope. They have support within the masses because they respond to the needs of the masses.

[REVOLUTION AFRICAINE] But is this a movement toward a multiparty system or a pluralist front? It seems to me you have not answered my question.

[Bouhara] To respond to your question, I must first of all point out a few things. First of all, what is the reason for a political party's existence? It is to defend the interests of a class or various social strata. The National Liberation Front wants to be the defender of the interests of all the people (the sole political organization for all the people), but at the same time it wants to be the champion of the interests of the workers and peasants, thus of specific social strata. This is an apparent paradox. But it is a paradox that obeys a certain logic. Given that the objective of the National Liberation Front is to carry out the popular will as reflected in the National Charter, a Charter which defines society's goals in terms of a socialistic vision, it is quite logical that the National Liberation Front should find itself in that problematic situation.

I said earlier that it was an apparent paradox. The work of the National Liberation Front is first of all to defend the interests of the greatest number by reducing social disparities. This is the sense in which one must understand the term social justice.

To come back to your question: In the current phase, the National Liberation Front as defined by the decisions of the most recent [party] congress may be a good formula. We must nevertheless intensify the national political debate, break the taboos, break down the barriers. Then one can see that those who in the past imagined themselves far apart from us are much closer to us than was thought.

National Charter or charter of the National Liberation Front?

That is just another way of asking the question about a single party or a multiparty system.

The National Charter, a social contract for the whole nation, has as its corollary a political organization for the whole population.

A charter or compact of the National Liberation Front is a summary delineation of the consensus reached by the party apparatus, not by all the members of the national community.

[REVOLUTION AFRICAINE] Some people say that the party will continue to hold on to its political monopoly....

[Bouhara] We are just starting to implement the political reforms. So it would be quite natural for people to have the impression that a political monopoly will continue to be exercised by or through the FLN.

Things will be much clearer after promulgation of the electoral law, the renovation of the popular assemblies, and the revision of the media code. The congresses of mass organizations and occupational, cultural, and scientific societies will also help to clarify things.

Putting an end to the political monopoly exercised by or through the FLN does not mean that the FLN should be barred from all participation in the nation's political life. It is still the dominant political force in the country and the instrument for organizing and expressing the national political debate.

What is of greatest importance is to make it possible for the people to exert real power. This is the direction in which the FLN must move. Its top priority must be to deepen democracy.

EGYPT

Egypt's Revolution Leader Comments on Palestinian State

45040189C Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 10 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Mahmud Nur-al-Din, leader of Egypt's Revolution Organization, by AL-SHA'B; date and place not specified]

[Text] Mahmud Nur-al-Din, leader of the Egypt's Revolution Organization, was smiling when he walked into the court room for last Tuesday's court session. He wore a red flower in his lapel. A woman in her sixties greeted the men of Egypt's Revolution with cheers. She cried, "Long live the heroes of Egypt's Revolution." Citizens who were in the courtroom attending the court session cheered after her.

As soon as Mahmud and his colleagues walked into the defendants' cage, his youngest daughter walked through the crowds toward him. She embraced and kissed him through the wires of the cage. Her mother and her sisters were behind her.

I walked toward Mahmud to ask him some of the questions that were on my mind. His high moral spirits preceded the smile with which he greeted and welcomed me. He commended AL-SHA'B and its position on the organization, Egypt's Revolution.

I asked him how was he being treated in prison.

[Nur-al-Din] The treatment is terrible. We are deprived of everything. We are not allowed to walk out in lines,

and we do not see each other as colleagues in prison. We are denied newspapers, magazines, food, and clothing except on rare occasions. We have been in solitary confinement ever since we were imprisoned.

[AL-SHA'B] The Palestinian uprising is now 1 year old. How would you, the leader of Egypt's Revolution, evaluate the Palestinian struggle during this stage?

[Nur-al-Din] The Palestinian uprising embodies the great struggle of the people of Palestine. It expresses their rejection of the occupation. It is because of the uprising that a Palestinian state has been declared, and that state has received tremendous international recognition.

[AL-SHA'B] Then, do you support the declaration of a Palestinian state?

[Nur-al-Din] We support it, and we are delighted that this step has been taken. All that we are hoping for now is that our fellow Palestinians stand behind their legitimate leaders, represented by the PLO and its chairman, Yasir 'Arafat. We hope that no group of Palestinians will try to dissociate themselves from their legitimate leaders because this stage requires unity among all ranks.

[AL-SHA'B] What do you think about the Egyptian government's declaration of support and recognition of the Palestinian state?

[Nur-al-Din] We support and welcome the Egyptian government's recognition of the Palestinian state.

[AL-SHA'B] Some people are comparing the PLO's actions and steps with those which were taken by Anwar al-Sadat. What do you think about that?

[Nur-al-Din] This is a completely different matter. The declaration of a Palestinian state was made as a result of the uprising and the Palestinian people's rebellion against Israeli occupation. In other words, the declaration of the state is the result of a national, revolutionary struggle for which a heavy toll has been paid: some people lost their lives; some were wounded; and some are being detained. But what al-Sadat did is completely different. Al-Sadat was not fighting during that period. He was surrendering, and his actions wasted the results of the October War. That is why what Yasir 'Arafat is doing is completely different from what Anwar al-Sadat did.

Al-Hudaybi Interviewed on Muslim Brotherhood
45040187 Cairo *AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI* in Arabic
Jan 89 pp 14-19

[Interview with Judge Ma'mun al-Hudaybi; date and place not specified]

[Text]

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] Can you tell us something about your life?

[Al-Hudaybi] I was born in 1921, and I attended ordinary Egyptian schools in towns and cities where my late father worked, like al-Mansurah, al-Minya, Asyut, al-Zaqaziq, and Cairo. My father, may God have mercy on his soul, always tried to keep his family with him wherever he worked. That was possible in those days. After finishing secondary school, I went to the College of Law at Cairo University, and I graduated from there in 1942. In accordance with my ranking in the class I was appointed in the district attorney's office, and I continued in that line of work and then worked as a judge until I got to the position of chief justice of the Cairo Court of Appeals, a position I held until I retired.

During that period I was arrested at the time of the 1965 incidents, and I remained in captivity until 1971. I worked in the Gaza Strip during the 1956 war, so I was there when the Gaza incidents took place. I also worked for a period of time in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] What does each one of the following represent to you: the late Imam Hasan al-Banna; your late father, Hasan al-Hudaybi, and Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani?

[Al-Hudaybi] 1. The martyr, Imam Hasan al-Banna was an extraordinary imam. He was God's instrument, an instrument that could be used every 100 years to reawaken the nation and revive religion. Al-Banna, [which means builder in Arabic], was a true builder who, with God's help, singlehandedly, established the Muslim Brotherhood Society. He was the one who educated the first generation of that brotherhood, and he was the one who authored their program, which is derived with profound understanding from the principles and precepts of religion. He was the one who really molded the people of his generation. The Muslim Brotherhood Group and young people in Egypt and everywhere in the Islamic world still follow his program and do his bidding.

2. The late Hasan al-Hudaybi is a unique individual who may appear to some people to be grave and stern. But if one gets close to him, one finds him to be a gentle and compassionate man. However, in a situation that involved a choice between right and wrong or between what is or is not one's duty, Hasan al-Hudaybi knew no flexibility and no hesitation. He always took the side of truth and justice, and he did so intuitively. He was the rock upon which the mighty and tyrannical Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir stumbled and faltered. Thus, God Almighty protected the Muslim Brotherhood Group. The late Hasan al-Hudaybi, may God have mercy on his soul, was a knowledgeable man who was well-versed in the precepts of his religion. He was also a competent linguist.

3. The late Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani is a symbol of serenity, purity, and the affection which God bestowed upon the Muslim Brotherhood Group at a time when its need for such a clear symbol of affection was pressing. This was the time when the group was grievously maligned by tyrants. Mr al-Talmasani was thus the tool

by means of which the group's radiant, pure image was restored. Although he is a man with a sensitive nature who grew up in a well-to-do family, he withstood hardships the way great men do. He lived and died a proud man: he was a man of dignity, a man who was loved, respected and held in great esteem by everyone.

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] The Muslim Brotherhood Group chose to work through parliament. Its entry into the People's Assembly has been the subject of disagreement and discussion because the People's Assembly is an institution of a state that does not rule in accordance with God's decrees. What is your legal point of view on this matter? If the Muslim Brotherhood's participation in the People's Assembly is permissible, what are the political justifications which you took into account when you made the decision to join the assembly? Isn't this one way by means of which the Islamic movement can be surrounded and held responsible for its participation as a member of the regime?

[Al-Hudaybi] The method of working through parliament is one chosen by jurisprudence in Islam. It is the method which has been determined since the group was founded. The late imam, Hasan al-Banna ran in the 1942 elections for the House of Representatives, and he ran for election one other time years later. Several members of the Guidance Office and the Constituent Assembly also ran for office several times. This is not a new method. In fact, it is one that has been an integral part of the group's program and policy for a long time. Although one thing and its opposite cannot be together in the same place at the same time, it is patently unacceptable to say that a person who runs for public office on an Islamic program that differs with the regime which is in power would be considered part of that regime, when he declares in his campaign that he wants to change the secular government's philosophy and make it Islamic. It is unacceptable to say that such a person is part of the regime when he spares no effort in and out of parliament to change the government's philosophy and to make it an Islamic government.

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] Why doesn't the government allow the group to have a legally recognized organization? If the government does not allow the group to have its own political organization, why do you insist on getting involved in politics? Do you intend to apply pressure to assert the group's right to have a legally recognized, working existence?

[Al-Hudaybi] You might ask the government that question. As far as we are concerned, however, we are trying very hard to make the authorities stop claiming that the Muslim Brotherhood Society has been disbanded. We are saying the group has not been disbanded. No decree from the Revolutionary Command Council or from any other responsible agency has been issued to disband this

group. At any rate, we are continuing our amicable attempts as we try to figure out what to do next so that our concrete and undeniable existence can be legally recognized.

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] Any fair-minded person who has been watching your actions and your mature and objective discussions in the People's Assembly must recognize that the Muslim Brotherhood has a vision and a detailed program encompassing all political, economic and social issues. Secular circles, however, have no other argument left: they just say they don't think you have a program. Why don't you offer a detailed, written program to everyone so you can discredit this argument once and for all? On the other hand, the Muslim Brothers have a tremendous amount of experience, and they have people whose scientific and political competence is quite high. Why aren't these people asked to write a series of books, for example, about the concept of a wise policy for each sector? Why aren't they asked to write books about an agricultural policy, a pharmaceuticals policy, a market policy, a currency policy, an education policy, and so on and so forth?

[Al-Hudaybi] We believe that it is necessary to focus on fundamentals before we can move on to secondary matters. It makes no sense for us to be demanding Islamic solutions in a non-Islamic setting. What does make sense to us, however, is to make this basic setting Islamic; then we can move on from there to secondary matters. We are, nevertheless, actually conducting studies on a variety of domestic and foreign political affairs as well as economic, social, educational, agricultural, and other affairs. God willing, we may soon publish something that will explain our Islamic perspective and our policy on the problems which the nation has been experiencing and which we think we should be pursuing.

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] You must be following the campaign against investment companies. In your opinion, what is the proper evaluation of these companies' experiences?

[Al-Hudaybi] There are many investment companies. Some of them adhere to the provisions of the canonical laws of Islam and others do not. This is the general information we have. But these firms were established by people who got to be in charge of those firms entirely as a result of their activities and their thinking. We do not interfere in any of their affairs, but we would have liked the law which was issued by the state to have given these firms operating guidelines instead of repressing them and placing them under government control. That caused these firms to lose much of their ability to act and to do business, and that caused people to lose confidence in them.

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] Does the Muslim Brotherhood group consider itself the sole, legitimate representative of the Islamic movement? Is it possible to think that the movement's other branches have a few positive attributes?

[Al-Hudaybi] We are a group of Muslims; we are not the Muslim group. Ours is the original Islamic Movement, but we do not impose our control on others.

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] Everyone must have followed with admiration the Muslim Brotherhood's fundamental position on the uprising of the Muslim people in the occupied land and the group's invariable position on the Palestinian cause. Are there any positive positions beyond conferences and statements to support the Muslim people in the occupied land?

[Al-Hudaybi] Public gatherings and mass activities, unfortunately, are prohibited under the emergency law which is now in effect. A meeting in a hall which can accommodate no more than a few hundred people is the most which is permitted now. Such a meeting can be held only on the condition that nothing is heard outside the meeting hall. Also, the media's large resources are owned and controlled by the state.

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] I believe that the Islamic Movement in Sudan has its own distinctive style of political participation. On the other hand, Sudan's situation is a special one: it is more than just a fraternal, Arab and Islamic country. Can we expect more coordination between the Islamic Movement in Egypt and the Islamic Movement in Sudan?

[Al-Hudaybi] We are always trying to coordinate our activities with those of all Islamic movements everywhere in the world. As you know, Islam is a universal religion and its message is inherently universal, even though the organization promoting the message has to be a local one. That is the nature of things; it is the nature of the stage we are going through. We have many, close ties with the fraternal country of Sudan, whose attitude toward us even goes beyond the magnitude and the depth of those ties.

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] How would you comment on the special talks that are being held on the Afghan question?

[Al-Hudaybi] [An ellipsis appears here in the Arabic article.]

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] Your positions on the practices of Minister Zaki Badr have been numerous and distinctive. Do you believe these practices are those of a minister, or do they represent the regime's policy?

[Al-Hudaybi] I believe these practices represent the regime's policy even though they reflect the minister's disposition, nature, emotions, and personal opinions.

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] Would an Islamic government permit the establishment of opposition parties? What legal evidence can you provide for that?

[Al-Hudaybi] If you are talking about a government that opposes the principles and accepted beliefs of Islam, that would be legally impermissible and unacceptable to a Muslim community. But if you are talking about having multiple parties in accordance with agreed upon Islamic principles, that is something which has existed since the birth of the Islamic nation. In some cases that practice took the form of denominations, which dealt with differences in economic, social, and military matters as well as matters of ideology and religious observance. Furthermore, these denominations dealt with differences in interpreting Islamic texts where evidence for any one interpretation was not conclusive and where unanimous agreement about any one interpretation was missing. There is a large body of law in Islam where differences are permissible, and the Muslim Brotherhood Group has to classify those differences under the general principles of the canonical laws of Islam. Differences on such matters are bound to happen on the broadest level. There are differences, for example, on how the advisory process, the army, and the departments of government are to be organized; and there are differences on organizing agriculture, drainage, irrigation, education, industry, and so on and so forth.

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] Many groups were founded on the basis of their own understanding of the late Sayyid Qutb. How would you comment on this matter? Did they understand the late Sayyid Qutb properly, or is their understanding of him faulty? Why has this been the case with the late Mr Qutb and what he wrote?

[Al-Hudaybi] We made our position on these concepts and invocations quite clear in the book, "Du'ah la Qudah," [Heralds, not Judges]. The late Sayyid Qutb is an Islamic martyr, and he is one of the greatest Islamic writers we have, but the course of the Muslim Brotherhood and of preaching the message of Islam has been established in the letters of the late Imam Hasan al-Banna.

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] Is the Muslim Brotherhood group a natural and an organic extension of the sum total of the Muslim people's movement and effort for the cause of God in Egypt? In that regard, what do the movement's historical leaders and historical parties represent to you? Would you please give us examples of that, especially from contemporary history, that is, since the French campaign?

[Al-Hudaybi] [An ellipsis appears here in the Arabic article.]

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] Are you satisfied with what has been accomplished under the alliance? What do you expect for this alliance?

[Al-Hudaybi] Yes, I am satisfied with what has been accomplished under the alliance, even though it is human nature to go on wishing for something better and to hope for changes for the better.

[AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI] Is it true that the Muslim Brotherhood Group is sensitive to criticism from some branches of the Islamic Movement? Is there a chance for the group to conduct a dialogue with these branches?

[Al-Hudaybi] Thank God, we are always willing to cooperate with anyone who wants to talk to us, if we find there is hope that talking will lead to an understanding. But we will not deal with insults which lie behind the rebuffs from these branches. We do not wish to waste our time on such matters.

Our last appeal bears our thanks to God, the Almighty Creator of the universe.

Tunnel Discovered Between Rafah Sectors
JN2102131989 Cairo *AL-WAFD* in Arabic
19 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt] The North Sinai Security Department has succeeded in discovering a 6-meter underground tunnel between the two parts of Rafah used to smuggle goods and counterfeit dollars. The perpetrators were arrested. The public prosecution has begun an investigation. The information gathered by Brigadier General Muhammad 'Abd-al-Sami', director of the Criminal Investigation Department at the Security Department of North Sinai, stressed that Mahmud Hammad Hamdan, 'Awdah Sulayman Sulayman al-Sha'ir, Hamdan Hamdan, and Ahmad 'Awad, who are well known for smuggling, dug the 6-meter long underground tunnel from their home in the Egyptian sector of Rafah.

The tunnel ends at a house of a Palestinian residing in the Palestinian part of Rafah. The name of the Palestinian is Zaki 'Ali al-Sabki. The investigations showed that the tunnel is equipped with two plastic carriages, which the smugglers draw by using ropes to smuggle goods. [passage omitted]

Cairo's Security Chief Interviewed on Crime
45040190 Cairo *AKHIR SA'AH* in Arabic
11 Jan 89 pp 11, 51

[Interview with Major General Mamduh Bura'i, chief of Cairo security, by Suhayr al-Husayni; in Cairo Security Administration; date of interview not specified]

[Text] How is Cairo protected from extremism and narcotics? Has the rate of home burglaries and car thefts declined? What about the crime of rape, and how important is it to have stiffer penalties for that crime so that this phenomenon, which is alien to our Egyptian society, can be eliminated? What happens to the reports which citizens file against the owners of investment companies? What is being thought about traffic policemen who

deal harshly with car owners whose cars need a few repairs? How can the public be protected from the conduct of people who become disorderly during soccer games? And what about the fact that the owners of high-rise buildings do not meet their obligation to build multi-level garages?

We took these and other questions to Major General Mamduh Bura'i, chief of security for Cairo, a city of approximately 12 million people who live in the city and its suburbs. In his interview with *AKHIR SA'AH*, Maj Gen Bura'i affirmed that security officials were working round the clock to safeguard citizens' comfort and security and protect their property. "We are asking for the cooperation of every citizen because such cooperation is essential and necessary if we are to solve problems and eliminate crime."

The interview with Maj Gen Mamduh Bura'i started in Cairo's Security Administration. The question which had to be asked at the outset was this one:

[AKHIR SA'AH] What is being done about terrorism in the capital? How is it being eliminated?

[Bura'i] Cairo has never been as conscious about terrorism as it is now. Security agencies are vigilant and alert, and they are continuously monitoring the situation to eliminate the seats of terrorism. Maj Gen Zaki Badr, the minister of interior, is always saying that we are protecting society from terrorism. We are watching the terrorists, and we have the equipment which can enable us to do the best job we can do in carrying out this duty and performing this function. When we eliminate and watch these groups, we are protecting society from a group of people who use and distort religion and who behave in a manner that contradicts religion. These people have nothing to do with the canonical laws of Islam. For example, peace of mind has been completely restored to the area of 'Ayn Shams as we watch it and other areas with total vigilance. To achieve that aim and that goal, we shall spare no effort because doing so is the primary duty of policemen. The protection we provide is part of our duty, which is to achieve security and safety for citizens and protect them from any mischief. In fact, we will not allow any mischief at all.

House Burglaries

[AKHIR SA'AH] In your capacity as a detective, what is the crime which is committed in the capital, the seriousness of which has been of concern to you? What is the crime that you as security chief want to confront?

[Bura'i] House burglaries. People's homes are supposed to be the havens where they seek and find shelter and refuge. That is why burglaries are important to security officials, especially those in the capital. And that is why

every effort is being made to reduce the rate and number of burglaries and to catch more criminals who committed burglaries so that we can give citizens a greater sense of security and comfort.

Car Thefts Decline

[AKHIR SA'AH] A few corrupt persons who own investment companies have committed another crime which is really worrying Cairo residents. In fact, all Egyptians are worried about that crime. What is Cairo's Security Administration doing to fight against such crimes?

[Bura'i] What policemen do in these cases is known to everyone. Nevertheless, security agencies in the capital, and that includes the Security Administration, receive numerous reports from citizens, and we forward these reports to investigating agencies which handle such cases. In addition, we assist the different groups which control and place restrictions on property owned by these companies.

[AKHIR SA'AH] You mentioned that you were especially interested in fighting car thefts. And yet the sense that all of us have now is that this phenomenon has become widespread.

[Bura'i] That is not true. Simple logic will show that during the first 10 months of the past year, there were 864 car thefts, compared with only 600 in the first 10 months of this year. This means that the number of car thefts this year is approximately one-third less than what it was last year. This year the number of car thefts is 264 cases less than the car theft cases we had last year. Also, the car theft victim is often the one who contributes to the theft of his own car.

[AKHIR SA'AH] How does that happen?

[Bura'i] First of all, the price of a small car now, after the recent increase in car prices, is more than 15,000 pounds. And yet, citizens still refuse to install in their cars a warning device, which costs no more than 70 pounds, to ensure the safety of the car and reduce its chances of being stolen.

Second, there are no car garages in Cairo; there were none to begin with. Although the construction law in the governorates stipulates that the owner of every high-rise residential building is obligated to provide garage space for a certain number of cars in a garage under the building, compliance is limited to very few cases. In fact, many building owners sell the garage space in their buildings to commercial stores. That is why anyone traveling through the streets at night will find cars parked on the sidewalks right and left.

Also, car drivers often leave their cars unattended while they run errands. They do not lock the doors of the car and, in fact, they sometimes leave the keys in the car or leave the windows rolled down. Such conduct by car

owners is intolerable negligence. Caution is a must, especially when we're talking about cars which are easy to get into like Fiats. We do our part, but citizens have to do their part too so we can serve them and do our job in the required manner.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Can the police intervene and do something about the owners of new residential and office buildings who are not meeting their obligation to build garages? After all, these people are violating the housing code.

[Bura'i] This is the responsibility of neighborhood chiefs and governors; it is not the responsibility of policemen. The tenants of any building which does not comply with the code are entitled to look after their own interests. They may file a complaint with neighborhood chiefs and governors, demanding the full implementation of the governors' decrees which require that garage space be provided in residential and office buildings for the tenants' cars as stipulated in the code.

What Is the Reason for Daytime Traffic Operations?

[AKHIR SA'AH] We also noticed recently that daytime traffic operations were being intensified and carried out during the early morning hours. These operations which were being carried out during the morning rush hour were interfering with the flow of traffic. They were becoming a nuisance and creating confusion on city streets already snarled at this time because of congestion.

[Bura'i] Instructions have been issued to delay traffic operations until after the morning rush hour. Let me say anyway that these operations are carried out in the interests of all citizens, pedestrians as well as car owners. Some cars, for example, are being driven without brakes or lights. Some cars are being driven with doors that do not close properly. These doors may suddenly open while the car is in motion, and that could be hazardous to passengers in the car and to pedestrians on the street.

Instructions to traffic officers are clear: No one who follows these instructions will be subjected to these operations. But how can we allow a car to be driven on city streets when the exhaust fumes coming out of that car are such that vision is impaired or the health of citizens is jeopardized? How can we not take legal measures to correct such a violation? And yet, I issued a directive delaying daytime traffic operations until after the morning rush hour when most citizens are on their way to work or school or are out to take care of personal matters.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Sometimes, however, a traffic policeman will stop a car simply because it is scratched or slightly dented. Let's assume that the owner of the car was unable to fix his car at the time of an accident because he had no time to fix it or because he could not afford to have it fixed. Is it reasonable to consider a dent in a car a traffic violation for which the car would be

cited each time it passed by a traffic officer on that day? Is this reasonable, especially when no one is hurt by such a violation? Such a violation does not hurt the driver of the car or others.

[Bura'i] Complaints about minor violations which represent no threat to the driver's life or to the life of anyone else will be eliminated gradually. I gave traffic officers in Cairo the necessary instructions in that regard.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Very often a driver's license is taken away from its owner for any simple reason. Consequently, citizens lose time every day, and they lose time from work, looking for their drivers' licenses. That leads us to wonder: Why is it that instead of taking away drivers' licenses, fines for violations are not paid on the spot?

[Bura'i] In the case of some violations, the law stipulates that a person's driver's license be taken away. That is why when these violations are committed, the legal measure has to be taken. It is our job to make things easier, not more difficult, and our first and foremost goal is to enforce the law for the benefit of citizens. I gave traffic officers instructions to that effect, and you will notice that in the future. In fact, I will see to it myself.

Daytime and Nighttime Stop and Search Operations

[AKHIR SA'AH] Are all citizens supposed to be subjected to the stop and search operations which are conducted at night by detectives, or are these stop and search operations conducted only for those who are under suspicion?

[Bura'i] Nighttime stop and search operations are conducted for security reasons and for verifying suspicions. That is why each stop and search team is headed by an officer who is a detective. That officer stops only those cars whose passengers are suspicious. People are asked to produce their car registration or their driver's license because that is one way for verifying suspicions. Many car theft cases were caught by means of these nighttime stop and search operations. Also stolen goods, narcotics, or smuggled supplies were sometimes caught in some of those cars which were stopped and searched during the night. That led to the discovery of numerous gangs. In addition, citizens who pass by these stop and search teams and meet the policemen who are working at this late hour of the night feel safe and secure. Another factor introduced by these stop and search operations is the awe and dread they inspire in anyone who thinks about committing a crime at night.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Sometimes, however, we find that these nighttime stop and search teams stop cars in the middle of the road, and that delays the rest of the cars at this late hour of the night.

[Bura'i] These nighttime stop and search operations are not set up until a very late hour of the night when traffic is quiet and there are few cars on the roads. In addition, the captains of these teams have been instructed to stop suspicious cars only. They have been instructed to stop the cars on the side of the road so that other cars can pass.

[AKHIR SA'AH] The phenomenon of narcotics, which is considered the primary factor in young people's deviation, has become widespread. We noticed that after policemen raided the well-known narcotics joints, narcotics are now being sold everywhere in the capital. They are sold from booths and in public places. Are measures being taken to curb the spread of this phenomenon?

[Bura'i] All police agencies are now involved in anti-drug trafficking activities: This includes the General Narcotics Department and the branch offices specializing in anti-drug activities. Generally speaking, each policeman is charged with the task of apprehending any narcotics case wherever he is. I would say, nevertheless, that policemen can do the best possible job they are capable of doing only when they receive assistance from citizens. Citizens' reports on everyone who is involved in drug trafficking are always taken into consideration, and they are investigated and confirmed.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Many citizens are apprehensive about filing reports with the police because of the problems they may later face and the investigations they may have to undergo in the future.

[Bura'i] Any citizen who knows where narcotics are sold or knows who is selling drugs should contact the Narcotics Division in Cairo's Security Administration. He may also send the information he has in a registered letter to the Division Chief. He should be quite confident that the information he will provide will remain confidential. Narcotics detectives will confirm the accuracy of this information and will try to take the necessary measures to apprehend the guilty party or parties without contacting the person who submitted the report at all. In fact, we receive information from confidential informants who work with detectives. And when we testify in court, we do not have to mention the informant's name. The court will accept our testimony when we say that our source is a confidential, trusted informant whose name we cannot divulge. The informant's name will always remain unknown and confidential, and the informant must be quite confident about this point.

Death Penalty for Rapists

[AKHIR SA'AH] What does Cairo's Security Chief think about the crime of rape? That crime which is alien to our society is now making citizens worried.

[Bura'i] I believe that some people in the press and in the media have blown this matter out of proportion, and that may be the main reason why so much attention has

been given to that crime and why it has been shown as more pervasive than it really is. When discussions about rape increased during the previous period, I was chief of security. I knew exactly how many rape cases there were and I knew what the circumstances were. I explained all the implications of that crime in the press and in the media, and I made it clear that in our society the crime of rape was not a problem as some people thought it was. Rape is a crime which is the product of its circumstances. And yet, different opinions about rape, which I read, state that rape is a premeditated crime because an apartment and a car are provided and used in perpetrating the crime. Nevertheless, I still say that this crime is the product of circumstances.

I do not wish to raise this issue because it is not as pervasive as the press suggests. I do not wish to raise this issue, especially now that we don't have any such cases. But in narcotics and rape cases the law requires the death penalty for defendants who are actually found guilty. I say this because most of these crimes are described in exaggerated terms. Let me give you an example. When I was public security director in al-Fayyum, a rape was reported. The case disturbed all the residents of the governorate. A girl claimed that she had gone to a hospital for treatment. She said she met a young man in the hospital who assured her she could get better treatment if she went to an excellent doctor he knew. The girl said, "The young man offered me a soft drink in a bottle. As soon as I drank it, I lost consciousness completely. When I came to, I realized that I had been raped by that young man." When the medical examiner examined the girl—and that is normal procedure in such cases—everyone was surprised when he affirmed that the girl was still a virgin and that there were no signs of violence at all. It was normal then for us to go back and question the girl. When we confronted her with the truth, she confessed that the young man was her fiance and that he did not want to marry her. She felt compelled to accuse him of this crime so as to force him to marry her.

Is it possible to enforce the death penalty in a case like this one? That is most certainly up to the court, but we all know that in Egypt a verdict is rendered only after the judge is quite confident that the defendant is guilty. Islam stipulated a mandatory punishment for this crime which was called then "hirabah" (armed robbery), and there are cases in which the defendant did actually receive the death penalty. I would prefer that if the person who did actually commit the crime of rape is found guilty, that he would be executed in public, in a public square. This is what is done now in some Arab countries, and it is done to deter other citizens. I would still say, however, that this crime is alien to our Egyptian society and that it is not as pervasive as some newspapers and some people in the media have suggested it is.

Ongoing Struggle Against Crime

[AKHIR SA'AH] In the midst of the capital's construction and development activity we notice that the sidewalks are being occupied by itinerant salesmen and store

owners. This practice is becoming a threat to citizens' lives because they are being forced to walk in the middle of the street and endanger their lives by walking through a maze of cars.

[Bura'i] The Public Utilities Police Department has been instructed to intensify its efforts and to continue its operations against everyone who takes up space for any reason on the roads and streets. Public utilities policemen are to chase away unlicensed itinerant salesmen and store owners who use the sidewalks to display their wares everywhere in the capital. These efforts are to continue. God willing, citizens will notice that more concrete progress is being made in this regard.

[AKHIR SA'AH] What about the fact that chains worn by women are being snatched away and their purses are snatched out of their hands in broad daylight? Because of that, citizens don't feel safe.

[Bura'i] I think this is something that is on its way out because a large number of delinquent gangs have been arrested. That is why we are reviewing the statistics about the number of such crimes. As policemen, we know that crime is here to stay. Sometimes crime rates go up. When we fight back, they go down. Then, once again, crimes start to appear when new gangs are organized. And once again, we fight back to eliminate crime. This is our destiny, and this is what we do. We are involved in an ongoing struggle against criminals and against crime. What matters, however, is that we always remain in control, and we are now in control. As I mentioned, our rate of catching criminals is up by 17 percent.

[AKHIR SA'AH] What will become of the practice of arresting soccer fans and troublemakers? Will this practice be extended to athletes?

[Bura'i] Thank God, this has happened on a very narrow scale only, and it was done to deter a small number of people who got carried away with their enthusiasm for the club they support. When that club is defeated, they show their displeasure in an emotional and objectionable manner. But that kind of behavior has been seen only in a few games.

[AKHIR SA'AH] What would Cairo's security chief say to soccer fans, to the players, and to the umpires so that such disturbances would not recur? What would he say to avoid having to arrest more soccer fans?

[Bura'i] I would tell them to meet their obligations. We must all meet our obligations because we are civilized people. Sportsmanship must prevail: In every game there is a winner and a loser. Furthermore, we have to observe ethical standards in sports. We encourage sports, and we encourage enthusiasm during the game, but each citizen is to cheer for the team of his choice in a manner that results in no negative consequences to others or to state property. There are some mischief makers who use

bricks to break the chairs they sit on. Then, they use broken chairs to beat up the umpires and the members of the other team. [We found that out] because we search people at the door, and we don't allow such objects on the premises. I would also say that players must adhere to the rules of sportsmanship. We know that what the umpires say goes, and we also know that umpires are watched and supervised by others.

Discipline on Egyptian Streets

[AKHIR SA'AH] In the effort to achieve discipline on Egyptian streets, we would like to ask about a number of phenomena which detract from the urban appearance of the capital in particular. First of all, there are stray dogs which disturb citizens during the day and deprive them of sleep at night.

[Bura'i] The only thing we can do about the stray dogs is shoot them at night when there are no pedestrians on the streets. The fact that stray dogs have proliferated in the capital may be due to the presence of garbage on the streets. I believe there are more stray dogs in new neighborhoods and subdivisions because some of the guards who guard the buildings that are under construction there have dogs to help them guard the premises. Guards who are employed in garages also keep dogs. In fact, some of them hide the dogs when the dog catcher makes his rounds to catch strays.

During the day, however, the dog catcher may use a whip to catch stray dogs in narrow, congested areas and eliminate citizens' complaints from them. In general, however, Cairo is divided into four sectors. A team of mounted policemen chases stray dogs and cats, working every night in the four sectors where many complaints have been made. In this regard we would also like to ask citizens to help us by contacting the emergency police and reporting such stray animals.

[AKHIR SA'AH] What about the beggars whose presence on the streets is hurting the urban appearance of the capital?

[Bura'i] There is a Moral Crimes Division in the Department of Criminal Investigations which conducts daily operations in every district in Cairo. In addition, efforts are being intensified at some locations and during those hours when complaints from this phenomenon have increased. Furthermore, all police divisions, including regular patrolmen as well as detectives, have been trying to catch beggars during their daily rounds. The beggars are taken to the district attorney's office where legal measures against them are taken. Those who can work are incarcerated, but the handicapped or those who are unable to work are placed in shelters that are affiliated with the Ministry of Social Affairs.

[AKHIR SA'AH] What are you doing about the practice of using loudspeakers at weddings and funerals until very late hours of the night? This practice disturbs many students, sick people and residents of that neighborhood where the loudspeaker is being used.

[Bura'i] The use of loudspeakers and microphones is absolutely forbidden. If someone uses a loudspeaker, residents of the area should report that immediately to the emergency police. A report will be filed against the person who had the microphone installed, and the microphone itself will be confiscated. The report will then be forwarded to the district attorney's office and from there to the court. In these cases confiscation is required by law.

When there is a wedding, a funeral or any other occasion, citizens should obtain permits from the police station which has jurisdiction over their area for using inside sound receivers which cannot be heard outside the premises where the wedding or funeral is being held. Otherwise, they would be in violation of the law, and they would be misusing those sound receivers. But it is important that citizens help us in this regard by filing complaints with the police stations that have jurisdiction over their area. They may also notify the emergency police, giving them all the information that would enable them to confirm that the report they received was accurate and serious.

[AKHIR SA'AH] What would Cairo's security chief like to say to residents of the capital?

[Bura'i] First of all, I would like to assure them that policemen are working round the clock to ensure their security, safety, and comfort. We are working round the clock to protect their property. With more cooperation and more of a positive attitude from citizens, policemen can do more to give people a greater sense of security.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Based on your experience in detective work and in the field of security for over 30 years, what do you envision for security and how can that be achieved?

[Bura'i] The work I did over the past 30 years as a detective and security officer makes me know where incidents happen and where they gain a foothold. God willing, we will reinforce the policemen who serve in the capital, and we will fight back against all criminal phenomena which worry Cairo residents. We ask God to grant us success so we can reduce crime rates. But we cannot stop crime, which is a product of society, and we cannot put an end to it.

That is why our work in the Security Administration is divided into two parts. The first part is to provide reinforcements for the policemen who serve on the streets, and the second part is to fight against the

manifestations of crime by studying them, by using an advanced, scientific approach to crime, and by using modern equipment when removing criminal evidence from the scene of a crime.

Cairo's Security Administration has actually been able to control car thefts. The rate of car thefts is down from what it was last year, and in Cairo's Criminal Investigation Department arrest rates are also up. The rate of arrests in Cairo for different criminal activities used to be approximately 50 percent, but now it is almost 67 percent. If we've asserted some control over crime rates and if we've increased our arrest rates, I would consider this the height of success for security agencies in Cairo's Security Administration.

**Sources Say No Payments to Al-Rayyan
Depositors 'This Year'**

45000115 Cairo *AL-SHA'B* in Arabic 31 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] Economic sources have affirmed to *AL-SHA'B* that no deposits will be paid out from the al-Rayyan companies before the end of this year and that the government is facing a difficult dilemma because of its inability to retrieve the al-Rayyan companies' funds from abroad and its responsibility for returning the deposits to their owners.

The sources added that there are indications that the deposits will not be returned in full, since the companies' assets are not sufficient to pay all that is owed to the depositors. Also, negotiations are continuing between the Egyptian Government and the governments of countries in which there are al-Rayyan funds in order to return the funds.

Prominent Islamist Writes About His Life

45040188 Cairo *AL-MUKHTAR AL-ISLAMI* in Arabic
Jan 89 pp 23-28

[Article by Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali: "Shaykh al-Ghazali Writes About His Own Life"]

[Text] My father, may God have mercy on his soul, was very fond of Abu-Hamid al-Ghazali, the shaykh of Islam. He was devoted to Sufism; he respected the Sufis; and he followed the Sufi paths of his choice because he had studied and memorized the Koran and understood it well. My father used to tell family friends how I came to be called Muhammad al-Ghazali. The idea had come to him in a dream in which Abu-Hamid al-Ghazali himself, may God be pleased with him, had suggested that I be given that name. Anyway, although I got the name, my thinking was not influenced by it. I make use of Abu-Hamid al-Ghazali's legacy: he is the author of "Tahafut al-Falasifah" [The Failure of Philosophers]. I also make use of Ibn-Rushd's legacy, al-Ghazali's opponent who is the author of "Tahafut al-Tahafut" [The Failure of the 'Failure of Philosophers']. If al-Ghazali has the mind of

a philosopher and Ibn-Taymiyah that of a theologian and jurist, I consider myself a disciple of both the school of philosophy and the school of jurisprudence.

I was born in 1336 A.H., which coincides with 1917, and I grew up in a religious environment as the oldest of seven siblings. My father was a good merchant who steered me in the direction of memorizing the Koran. In fact, it was my father's kindness to me that led him to sell his property so he could send me or go with me to the nearest city which had an institute of al-Azhar. When I was 10 years old, he left his village, Nakla al-'Inab, in the governorate of al-Buhayrah and went to Alexandria so I could enroll in al-Azhar.

I had an ordinary childhood. Although nothing exciting happened during my childhood, that period of my life was distinguished by my love of reading. I used to read everything. No subject was too difficult for me. I used to read while moving from one place to another, and I used to read during meals.

The Importance of Reading

Reading is especially important for all those who proclaim the word of God. It provides a strong background of knowledge that should be behind the thinking of jurists and religious evangelists. In fact, accusing those who speak about religious affairs of not being well read or not having a good education is a serious matter. If the charge turns out to be true, people lose confidence in them.

Reading, that is, education, is the only thing that can give one a proper idea about the world and about its conditions and affairs. Reading sets the proper limits on various concepts. A poor education is very often the reason behind the shortcomings of jurists and religious evangelists.

The condition of a religious scholar with a poor education is more serious than that of a sick or physically weak individual who has anemia. A person who proclaims the word of God must read everything. He must read books on faith and books on atheism. He must read books about the prophet's tradition, and he must read about philosophy. Briefly put, he must read about all the different tendencies of human thought so he can understand life and what affects its numerous aspects.

I was influenced by Shaykh 'Abd-al-'Azim al-Zarqani, who was a teacher in the College of the Principles of Religion. He is also the author of "Manahil al-'Irfan fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an" [The Springs of Knowledge in the Sciences of the Koran]. Being both a scientific and a literary scholar, Shaykh al-Zarqani used expressions in his aforementioned book which indicate that he is a well-seasoned master of rhetoric who writes eloquently and presents his case clearly.

In Alexandria's religious academy I was influenced by Shaykh Ibrahim al-Gharbawi and Shaykh 'Abd-al-'Aziz Bilal, who were involved in psychological education. The two men, who are highly devoted and pious men, used to combine lessons with divine contemplation and a quest for the afterlife. They did not compete with each other or with others for scientific degrees because the lure of scientific titles is such that it can drive away the sincerity which is sought in religion.

I was also influenced by Shaykh Mahmud Shaltut, who later became the shaykh of al-Azhar. He was a teacher of exegesis. Besides being a veteran scholar of jurisprudence and of all the branches of the canonical laws of Islam, his ability to interpret the Koran was remarkable. Shaykh Shaltut, may God have mercy on his soul, was a prominent, world figure whose followers were many.

But the man who influenced me the most was the martyr, Imam Hasan al-Banna, who was a religious scholar as devoted to religion as the most devoted scholars of doctrine and jurisprudence are. He was an eloquent speaker who spoke fluently about basic, not superfluous matters and about facts rather than fiction. Hasan al-Banna understood the terrible stage which Islam has been going through since the fall of the Islamic caliphate and the demise of the Islamic state. After that eastern and western colonialists succeeded in plundering the legacy of Islam. Imam al-Banna used to work against this destructive deluge by organizing groups of people who cherish their religion and who adhere to the truth regardless of the difficulties, obstacles or perils they may have to face.

Hasan al-Banna befriended every believer he met. His friendly smile, which cheered everyone who saw him, made people feel that he has been their good friend for a long time. He had no time for idle talk. Hardly would he let a second—not a minute—go by without doing something for Islam. He would make a statement, direct someone to do a good deed, or say something pleasant which would bring people closer together.

Hasan al-Banna's memory was powerful. He remembered names and ideas as though they had been recorded on tape. If one were to meet him and talk with him about some issue, or if one were to mention to him the names of one's brothers, for example, he would remember. Then, years later if one were to meet him again, he would start out by asking about one's brothers, and he would recall the subject which one had discussed with him years ago and talk about it as though that conversation had taken place only a short time ago.

To say the truth, the man's affection for people was sincere. There was no affectation about his affection for people. He might embrace a worker, wearing oil-soiled overalls, because he would not let that stop him from expressing his affection for that worker. Hasan al-Banna has numerous outstanding qualities and abilities, but one would need a separate book to talk about them.

My Own School

I see myself as a leader or a person who paved the way for a school of thought which is based on making full use of all intellectual tendencies and all schools of jurisprudence in Islamic history. This school also makes full use of discoveries made in the fields of human philosophy, psychology, sociology, politics, economics, and history. This school of thought combines all that with a proper knowledge and understanding of the Koran and the prophet's tradition.

To have a proper understanding of the precepts of the canonical laws of Islam or to make the proper judgment which must be made requires one to have broad horizons and a vast store of ancient and modern knowledge. Our ancient ancestors may have been blessed with sound intuition and sharp intelligence which enabled them to understand matters properly and make sound judgments. But in this day and age, we cannot reach their level of understanding unless we study material that is many times more than what they studied. Short-sighted people, for example, use corrective lenses so they can read or make out what appears at a distance in front of them. Corrective lenses enable them to see what they could not see with the naked eye.

My Experiences in Proclaiming the Word of God

I graduated from al-Azhar in 1360 A.H., which coincides with 1941. Since then I have been involved in service to Islam: preaching the word of God and teaching.

It is my opinion that religious evangelicals of this age are different from those of the past. In the past, they could achieve some measure of success with a limited amount of knowledge and obvious piety.

In this day and age, however, the enemies of Islam have doubled their activities. Their malice for Islam has grown, and the obstacles they have been placing in front of religious evangelicals became more numerous. The enemies of Islam managed to take advantage of cultural superiority to stop the advancement of Islam in many countries. In fact, they may have also used their wealth and their abilities to create discord among Muslim factions in Africa, Asia, and Europe. That is why proclaiming God's message is not enough: it must be backed up by various social, health, educational, and cultural services, and so on.

Conditions That a Religious Evangelical Must Meet:

It is self-evident that not everyone is suitable for that calling. A Muslim evangelist in this day and age must have a wealth of knowledge about Islam and humanity. This means that he must be knowledgeable about the Koran, the prophet's tradition, Islamic jurisprudence, and Islamic civilization. At the same time he must be knowledgeable about human history, about the sciences

of the universe, the sciences of life, and about man's contemporary cultures which have a bearing upon various religions and philosophies.

He who proclaims the message of God must devote himself entirely to his mission. It should be his primary and sole concern. He must open his heart to people: he must be neither selfish nor resentful, and he must not be moved by the fleeting passions. Because he addresses others, he must not think only of himself, and he must find excuses for those who err. He must not watch people and wait for them to make mistakes. Instead, he must help them if they stumble.

A person who preaches the message of Islam in this day and age must be knowledgeable about the methods used by Islam's different enemies: the atheists who deny the existence of a Divine Being as well as the Christians and Jews who do not accept Islam.

I noticed that many kinds of people who were proclaiming the message of Islam were doing considerable damage to it. Some of them are always forbidding one thing or another. One hardly ever hears any one of them talk about anything but what religion rejects. None of them even bothers to offer people the alternative they need. It were as though each one felt that his mission was to accost people on the street, make them stop in their tracks and then give them no directions to a better road that can take them more directly to their destination.

There are people proclaiming the message of Islam who are living in the distant past. It were as though Islam were a historic religion, not a religion for the present as well as the future. It is curious that one of these people might be seen mistreating disciples of the al-Mu'tazilah or al-Jahmiyah schools, and he would be right in doing so. And yet, he would be forgetting that the hostilities Islam was facing now came from different sources whose facts and names were different.

There are others proclaiming the message of Islam who make no distinctions between form and substance, between primary and secondary elements, or between the part and the whole. They go to the greatest of lengths to deny anything that is superficial, wasting all their energy fighting it, but they don't know what to do when they have to deal with substance. Such people do not perceive things in proportion. That is why they may attack an imaginary enemy on the east and leave an obvious enemy on the west. In fact, they may even fight someone who is not an enemy.

To the message of Islam such people are a liability. Something must be done to straighten them out, just as something must be done about those who get involved in preaching the message of Islam with the intention of working for themselves, not for their principles. Activities aimed at attaining Islamic values are not the same as those which revolve around personal schemes.

It became evident to me after 40 years of preaching the message of Islam that false piety posed the gravest danger to Islamic activity because a person would rely on an invisible power as he made up superstitions and delusions or worked on his own designs and schemes.

Religion, for example, requires mental vigilance, but these people are always in a trance. Religion requires one to have a sound heart, but these people's hearts have been afflicted with base weaknesses.

Exposing the scourge of false piety requires one to have knowledge about the particulars of dealing with the emotional and mental illnesses which cause it. Abu-Hamid al-Ghazali devoted a large section of his book, "al-Ihya'," to the treatment of these disorders, about which he also cautioned people. Ibn-al-Jawzi also wrote "Talbis Iblis" [The Devil's Deception] to expose the forms of false piety and to keep everyone away from it.

I wrote some of my books while I was involved in fighting this kind of flawed piety which manifests itself in official as well as popular circles. Some of these books include "Ta'mmulat fi al-Din wa al-Hayah" [Reflections on Religion and Life], "Laysa min al-Islam" [Matters That Are Not Islamic], and "Raka'iz al-Iyman bayna al-'Aql wa al-Qalb" [Pillars of the Faith between the Mind and the Heart]. Finally, there is my book, "al-Da'wah al-Islamiyah Tastaqbil al-Qarn al-Khamis 'Ashar" [The Message of Islam Approaches the 15th Century].

False piety is actually the reason why many reasonable people deviate from the proper path. People who deviate from the proper path do so because they see religion through the actions of a few clergymen and the influence they had on public life. Actually, some of these pious people in old as well as in modern times were a scourge on the religion.

I started writing in my early youth. Writing was my hobby. It was something I liked to do because it gave me comfort. But it was only after I became a preacher that I started writing about religion. The method I followed in writing about religion combines science and literature and presents Islamic culture in a manner that is relevant to present day issues. It may be said that the 35 books I wrote during the past 40 years cover several basic topics: faith, reason, the mind, Islam, and idle energies.

A New Interpretation of the Holy Koran

I prefer to write after saying my prayers at dawn. At that time I know that my thoughts are collected; I know that I am awake and alert; and I know that I can put what I have to say on paper. Most of the time my first draft is also my final draft. Rarely do I delete or add anything to what I wrote. In fact, I hardly ever go back to a book that has already been published unless I am pressed to do so because, for example, of a discussion or a dialogue about the book.

I hope to write an objective interpretation of the Holy Koran. Every verse of the Koran is a coherent unit whose hidden threads of meaning make each verse a preface to the one which follows. Thus, each verse also validates the verse which preceded it and revolves around a fixed topic. I hope to write a comprehensive book about that subject.

Columnist Criticizes Western Campaign Against Islam

JN2302170089 Cairo *AL-WAFD* in Arabic
21 Feb 89 p 3

[“What...or Else” column: “Shame!” by Jamal Badawi]

[Text] The farce of the book “The Satanic Verses” has revealed the gravity of using religion in the vortex of the power struggle that is raging among Iran's rulers. It is obvious that the ulema who had failed to attain material gains from the Gulf war now seek to score a victory in the sphere of religious ideology. They launched this demagogic campaign, which ostensibly is to defend Islam, in hopes it may rehabilitate them in the eyes of the world. However, as they have failed in the field of war, the ulema have also failed in ideology. Their arrows went astray and harmed Islam itself. Their action can be compared to the bear which, while trying to kill the fly that was resting on the nose of its owner, killed the owner himself.

The book that was published in the United Kingdom is no more than that fly, which could have been removed with some insecticide. But the fly has been inflated and assumed the proportion of an elephant that can only be removed by strenuous efforts. The world at large now knows about the book, which has become a bestseller. Publishing houses are competing to publish it. The foolhardy Iranian behavior has thus contributed to promoting the book instead of letting it sink into oblivion, as happens to so many books that are issued daily by publishing houses and draw the attention of no one.

On the other hand, the European countries have exaggerated the seriousness of the Iranian threats. Their reaction was unwise. The threat to kill the author is a stupid joke, and Iran does not represent the entire Islamic world. Muslims reacted coolly to the hue and cry that Iran has raised because the Muslims know very well that their religion rejects these barbaric methods of tackling a book, irrespective of its literary value. But the European and the U.S. press ignored these elementary facts about Islam and acted as an enemy that was waiting for an opportunity to vent its rancor. The European and U.S. press committed the mistake of attacking Islam and accusing it of opposing freedom of speech and opinion. They acted as if Iran were synonymous with Islam, or as if Islam were what Iran preaches.

Had we followed such a course in taking account of religions, ideologies, and theories on the basis of what some of their followers say or do, we would have

arrogated to ourselves the right to condemn Western civilization for the crimes against humanity and the people in the colonies of those countries that identify themselves with this civilization. The most odious of these crimes was the blow to the Japanese people with nuclear bombs. There was also McCarthyism, which surfaced in the stronghold of Western democracy to persecute intellectuals and writers in the fifties. The annals of contemporary history are replete with actions contrary to democracy committed by the very countries that invented it. Should we bring democracy to trial for stupidities committed by its followers?

It is a shame that Islam is villified and attacked because some of its rulers have deviated from its principles. Islam must be judged in light of its principles and values. As for actions, those who carry them out must be responsible for them.

Writer Says Shevardnadze Tour ‘First Step’ Toward Peace

JN2302095589 Cairo *AL-JUMHURIYAH* in Arabic
21 Feb 89 p 12

[“From the Heart” column, by Muhsin Muhammad]

[Text] With Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze visiting Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, and Iran and holding meetings with the leaders of these countries, the Soviets have made the first step in the peace process. It came before the meetings of the Arab leaders with the officials of the new U.S. Administration under President George Bush. This step indicates that the Soviets wish to return to the Middle East at a time when the countries of the region are welcoming a Soviet initiative or role, especially since the new U.S. Administration has not yet made any step to expedite the achievement of peace.

Despite the difference in opinion between Moscow and Tel Aviv, Israel wants the Soviet Union to play this role more than the Arabs do. Moscow has said its word on the need to convene the international peace conference. Moreover, it wants an effective conference, not just an umbrella for bilateral talks and negotiations between the Arabs and Israel.

A few days ago, Yosi Ben-Aharon, director of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's office, invited Shevardnadze to visit Tel Aviv. The Israelis want to explain their stand to Moscow, and they wish for and insist on the restoration of relations with the Soviet Union, which Moscow broke off in 1967 in the wake of the act of aggression against Egypt, Jordan, and Syria. The meeting in Cairo between Shevardnadze and Israel's foreign minister proves Israel's desire for holding talks with the Soviets.

The Soviets wish that Syria would join the peace march. They do not want Damascus to go to great lengths in supporting the Palestinians who oppose the resolutions

of the PLO Algiers meeting, which declared the PLO's participation in the peace process and its rejection of so-called terrorism.

The Soviets also want Damascus to reduce its hostility toward Iraq; they are seeking some rapprochement between the two countries—something that all the Arab leaders failed to achieve. The distinguished relations between Moscow and Damascus, however, may bring some success.

It is also known that Damascus owes the Soviet Union \$15 billion, all in military debts.

The visit to Amman by a Soviet foreign minister is the first of its kind. King Husayn visited Moscow in December 1987, and over recent years, the Jordanian-Soviet understanding increased, especially in light of the United States' blind support for Israel.

As hostility between Tehran and Washington intensifies, the visit to Iran by the Soviet minister is a development in Soviet-Iranian relations and an attempt to stabilize peace in the Gulf.

Egypt, like the Soviet Union, was eager for the meeting between Egyptian President Husni Mubarak and the Soviet minister to be held before the latter's meeting with Israel's Arens, so that Shevardnadze would be acquainted with Egypt's viewpoint on how to achieve peace.

It can be said that Soviet-Israeli relations, although broken off, have recently been good. The immigration of Soviet Jews is increasing, a Jewish cultural centre has recently been opened in Moscow, and senior Jewish detainees in the Soviet Union were released.

It is certain that in light of the international detente, the improved Soviet-U.S. relations, and the efforts to solve regional and local conflicts, the Shevardnadze visit comes at the appropriate time. It allows an exact knowledge of Moscow's viewpoint regarding the issues of the region before the meeting of King Husayn and President Mubarak with George Bush in Washington.

Columnist Sees National Banks' Profits as Misleading *45040189B Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 8 Jan 89 p 3*

[Article by Mahmud 'Abd-al-Mun'im Murad: "Words"]

[Text] In the fiscal year which ended at the end of last June, the four national banks, that is, the banks which are fully owned by the state, realized a net profit that was estimated at about 140 million pounds. That figure is an approximate one.

I do not wish to speak here about the ratio of profits to capital plus reserves. I only wish to mention that it is essential that the policy which is being pursued by the

four national commercial banks be reconsidered. What I mean by that is that we must proceed with extreme caution when we take part in the creation of investment-production companies which we want to encourage the private sector to take part in. We do this to develop our resources in general and to increase employment opportunities as a means of fighting unemployment, which is now a serious threat. We also do this to stimulate the market which is now in a recession.

Most of the profits realized by the banks are attributable to well-known banking operations and commercial loans. It is known, however, that contributions to the creation of new companies as well as loans for industrial activities in particular do not realize profits that are guaranteed to be large. That is why banks in general, not just national banks, observe as much caution as possible when they invest depositors' funds. And yet, the fixed maximum amount of bank credit which is now in effect and the fixed maximum amount which may be contributed to the capital of new companies must be reconsidered. Making a profit for the state treasury is not the primary function of national banks; economic development in general is their primary goal. In alluding to the success achieved by Egyptian banks in mobilizing savings, making proper investments, and taking part in private sector investments, an official economic source made statements to one of the newspapers yesterday which included figures and percentages. We believe these figures and percentages do not affirm the accuracy of the points of view which are adopted by responsible sources. Banks can play a bigger part. Extreme caution should not become a stumbling block that prevents the banks from doing their part, especially taking part in the establishment of new investment companies. And yet extreme caution would be strongly required in the case of risky credit and the deviations which accompany it. Millions were lost as a result of such risky credit. Funds are thus kept away from areas in which they ought to be invested, but they may be wasted in suspect and risky operations.

Banks which operate and function properly would constitute the biggest factor in reforming the conduct of our economy.

ISRAEL

'Akko's Economic Woes Profiled *44230048 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew* *5 Jan 89 p 7*

[Article by Yehuda Tzur: "Striking To Live—'Akko Is Furious. The Dimensions of Unemployment and the Closing Down of One Plant After Another Worry the Residents, Who Held Yesterday a 2-Hour Strike: 'If This Won't Help, We'll Close Down the Whole City'. Pini Grob: Only a United Struggle Will Help. The Government Fears the Unity of the Workers'"]

[Text] More than 1,000 'Akko residents, who gathered yesterday afternoon opposite the City Hall square to protest the employment situation in the city, are very

angry. Not only are they angry, but so are the thousands of workers, shop owners, school juniors and seniors, women from neighborhood committees, [and] businessmen who decided to close down the city for 2 hours in protest against the burgeoning unemployment in the city, once considered the diamond in the crown of heavy industry in the north.

The residents of 'Akko have good reasons to be angry about the unemployment which has set for them one of the most unsavory records it is possible to achieve in Israel. 'Akko deviated greatly from the national average for unemployment. In the last year alone, about 670 workers were laid off at various plants in the city, and that's only the beginning argues Yehoshu'a Katz, the secretary of the Workers' Council, considering the fact that about 600 more workers are expected to be laid off in the near future. At the beginning of the year, the number of job-seekers in 'Akko was 750, and the number has now reached 1,100. The number of persons unemployed for 6 days or more was 220 in January, and has already reached 500. But that's not everything. To the many plants that closed down in recent years, and those laid off from them, will soon be added, unwillingly, approximately another 600 persons. Just a few days ago, about 100 persons were laid off at the Steel City plant, and negotiations continue with the management, which wants to lay off a total of 140.

Thirty persons are to be laid off at the Ne'eman plant. The Milu'ot slaughterhouse, which belongs to the Milu'ot company, has announced its intention to shut down, and the laying-off of the 120 regular workers and another 20 temporary workers, most of them women, is expected. Rafael is now in the process of laying off about 250 of its employees. The Silora plant will lay off 15 workers. Many small textile and food concerns will lay off scores of other workers.

"A total of 1,400 persons have been or will soon be laid off. It is beyond the city's ability to bear such a number, because there is no other solution for them," says Yehoshu'a Katz. "About 11,000 persons are employed in 'Akko. The number of unemployed and job-seekers has already reached 12 percent—far above the national average, and the curve continues to rise," emphasizes de Castro, the mayor. About 1,000 persons, half of them recent immigrants, left 'Akko last year; in every other settlement in the north it is possible to receive a 10 percent income tax exemption, but not in 'Akko. "It would have been possible to solve the employment problem of the entire Western Galilee if they would carry out the Year 2,000 Plan for high-tech industrialization. However, nothing has been done so far. If the situation continues—and if the incentives in Tel Aviv and in 'Akko are equal—it is desirable for them to say so explicitly, and we'll all move to the Dan Bloc [Tel Aviv metropolitan area]," says the mayor.

The workers who crowded the square opposite the municipality yesterday did not raise their voices, did not wave their fists, and only a few shouted "Bread, Work".

The posters that were raised were carried by pupils and members of No'ar 'Oved [Histadrut, or more accurately, Labor Party-affiliated youth movement]. There's a reason—perhaps fatigue, perhaps apathy, but mainly the feeling that they've already seen this movie.

"What do you want from a laborer who earns less than 1,000 shekels [per month]? Now the minister of finance comes and proposes a revival plan, [but] by the time it succeeds, we'll all have died. How is it possible to pay debts and a mortgage, and they even want to reduce this amount [as published]," says Eliyahu Bardugo, who has worked for 25 years in the Barbor plant, "With all this, I earned a little more than 900 shekels. With this, it's possible only to buy bread and margarine, and they still say it's necessary to reduce, to lower, to cut benefits, as if we had any." Me'ir Kohen, who has worked 15 years in the Barbor plant, adds, "The average is a little higher than 800 shekels per month, hardly more than the minimum wage, for people with self-respect who've given 20 years in the plant. And yet they say that it's necessary to tighten the belt. They only want to take from us, where's the justice? Even the job is now in doubt." Moshe Uzi'el, aged 37, the father of two, believes that the workers have always been screwed anyway by all the plans: "For bread, milk, and a little leben [a fermented low-fat dairy product, considered inexpensive] for a family of four, it is necessary to spend 11 shekels a day at the grocery. That's almost half my wages. And what about everything else: some shoes for the children, a little meat once a week? And yet they say to you, that if we want to revive the economy, it is necessary to cut back. I would like those who want to cut back to come and live a few days on wages like ours."

The mayor, de Castro, also believes that it is not possible to ask workers who earn less than 1,000 shekels to wait patiently until the plan succeeds. "People have to eat every day, to pay debts, mortgages; for this they need work and a minimal wage—and all these are still in doubt. The plan of the minister of finance does not give any real answer to these questions."

Penina Najjar, aged 36, also came to the demonstration, holding the hand of Eli'av, a cute boy, the youngest of her five children, the eldest of which is a girl aged 10. Eli'av, with intelligent eyes [and] a broad smile on his face, appears to be enjoying the sun, but his mother's face is sad because, she says, this week's [economic] measures and her husband's uncertain employment outlook cause only sadness and deep sorrow: "I have five children, my husband has worked 17 years in the Alovil plant and earns 800 shekels net, including all the benefits. With all the different national insurance payments we reach, perhaps, 1,300 shekels. Seven souls, how many shekels a day for each? Where is the good food, we haven't gone out for years. I'd like to see one of those who talk about "reviving the economy" say how it is possible to live on such an amount. We're talking about

food, not about anything else. I came to demonstrate because the issue is vital, nobody has to convince me, because we all have to unite against unemployment."

Pini Grob, former head of the Workers' Committee at Ata [a large textile complex in the region that was shut down a few years ago after 5 decades of operation], today a member of "Committee 1", also arrives at the meeting to remind those present of the past lessons of the Ata workers. Pini Grob's message today is: only by force. "This government knew how to formulate an economic revival plan which benefits only those who earn hundreds of millions, when they bought the cheap dollars [reference to speculative profits from the recent devaluation]. For us, it leaves unemployment. The government knows well how to allocate responsibilities to everyone. It allows us to speak, and it does whatever it wants. I had a bitter experience with everything that happened to the Ata workers when we waged a peaceful struggle and believed in promises. Today I know that if you want to achieve something, there's only one way—by force. Only by force will we help ourselves. Meetings and talk won't help. Slogans won't help, only a united struggle of all the workers, because you better understand, the government fears the unity of the workers."

Not only are the wage-earners worried about their future in 'Akko. The merchants, who yesterday closed all the stores in the Old City and Western 'Akko, also fear the situation that is developing. Yonatan Kronfeld, who owns a sporting goods store in the Rasqo development, says: "We decided unanimously, all the merchants, to close the stores and identify with the workers' struggle, because this is our struggle. We make our living from the workers, they are giving me and my family a livelihood. In the last few months, sales in 'Akko's shops dropped an average of 40-50 per cent. Today, all the merchants are working only with their inventory, when it is finished, the stores and the shelves will be empty."

From a stage in the center of the square, de Castro promises that this will be the beginning of the struggle. He notes that the organizers of the strike took into account the need not to hurt the plants, which are already having problems, any more, so it was decided to hold a 2-hour strike. "But if this doesn't help, then we will really close down the entire city and take the residents to Jerusalem, and then they will know that the struggle will continue, and 'Akko knows how to conduct a struggle."

Avraham Shabo Dar'a, chairman of the Steel City Worker's Committee, used one sentence which sums up all the anger of the city's workers: "We demand from Qeysar [chairman of the Histadrut General Federation of Labor] and the government the return to us, the workers, of our pride. If they don't know how to do it, we'll do it for ourselves."

LEBANON

Former Ba'th Party Secretary Gives Views on Present Situation

44040231 Beirut *AL-ANWAR* in Arabic
1 Jan 89 pp 4, 9

[Interview with 'Abdullah al-Amin, former secretary of Lebanon's Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, by Khalid al-Lahham: "The Problem With the Bkirki Initiative Is That It Moves on the Basis of Names; There Is No Justification for the Presence of the President of the Republic If Lebanon's Crisis Is Going To Continue"—date and place not given]

[Text] 'Abdullah al-Amin, the former secretary general of Lebanon's Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, has said that dialogue between the Lebanese is an inevitability that has to be encountered. But all the parties involved must create the right conditions by fully defining their objectives so that the dialogue may be productive.

Al-Amin has also said that the presence of a president of the republic is no longer justifiable if Lebanon's crisis is going to continue, considering that if the Lebanese fail to move to meet the relaxation spreading around them in the area, there will be no solution in Lebanon. What is more, proclamation of the creation of a Palestinian state may lead Lebanon to a new crisis, transformation of the concept of resettlement into a reality, this time through a UN resolution.

Al-Amin believes that the fundamentalist current in the Islamic circle can continue to advance only to the same extent that Christian fundamentalism continues to control affairs in the Christian position.

Here is the interview with al-Amin:

Dialogue Is Part of Conflict

[AL-ANWAR] If the Palestinian, regardless of the outcome of his tendency and of our position toward him, has been able to find for himself a way to hold dialogue with others, be they Americans or Israelis, then doesn't it behoove us as Lebanese to find for ourselves a way to hold dialogue with each other?

[Al-Amin] Dialogue between feuding forces is a firm and fundamental principle in the laws of any conflict. Dialogue is a form of conflict. Any political force engaged in a conflict cannot but reach the point of dialogue someday. Dialogue is, as I have already noted, an important part of conflict. Consequently, it is impossible not to reach dialogue as long as the forces engaged in a conflict establish specific programs and objectives for their conflict.

In Lebanon, what delays and obstructs dialogue is the fact that the feuding forces lack established political programs and objectives. These forces have been content

with raising general slogans. When they dwell on the specific details of these slogans, they end up lost in labyrinths from which it is difficult to emerge. This is why more than one dialogue has been held during the long struggle and why this entire war has accomplished nothing. The political forces have not yet been able to establish clear and specific programs. If it is beneficial to say now that dialogue is the inlet to solving the crisis or is the way out of the crisis, the dialogue base must first be made clear before one starts looking for negotiators. The political forces involved in the Lebanese crisis, with all the complexities it has undergone and is undergoing at present, lack clear bases for dialogue.

If there is any hope in solving Lebanon's crisis, then this hope is altogether attached to dialogue between the Lebanese. Any attempt to leap over the dialogue, such as the slogans that there can be no dialogue between the Lebanese until after liberation or there can be no dialogue between them under the shadow of the Syrian presence or any other preconditions of the sort, will cause the political forces raising such slogans to lose the bases of the integration of their programs and objectives and, consequently, to lose their national awareness of the need for the country's unity and for overcoming the crisis. Proceeding from this understanding, we say that dialogue between the Lebanese is an inevitable point that must be reached. But all the parties involved must create the right conditions by fully defining their objectives so that the dialogue may be productive.

Blowing in the Desert

[AL-ANWAR] Dr Samir Ja'ja' says now that he is ready for dialogue with Syria. How do you interpret this within the context of the dialogue tendency about which we have been talking?

[Al-Amin] It is obvious that Dr Ja'ja's statement that he is ready for dialogue with Syria is not tied to a clear understanding of the nature of the conflict. Ja'ja' calls for dialogue with Syria when he is allied with Israel. Whoever wants dialogue with Syria can have the dialogue only after he declares his dialogue plan. According to what we have learned from the media, Ja'ja' says that he wants dialogue with Syria without any preconditions. What he means by this is that he does not want to abandon the alliance with Israel. The only objection that any party has to his dialogue with Syria is his relationship with Israel. What has always hampered the relationship with Syria is his relationship with Israel. When he says: I want dialogue with Syria without any preconditions....

Whoever wants dialogue with Syria and with the other forces must first be clear on the general national issue concerning Lebanon. The general national issue concerning Lebanon at present is Lebanon's position on the Arab-Israeli conflict. What I mean is that no Lebanese

faction, circle, party, or political organization can embark on dialogue with the other parties involved while maintaining a relationship with Israel.

Moderation Wins

[AL-ANWAR] What about the Bkirki initiative for dialogue?

[Al-Amin] The crisis of this initiative is that it continues to emanate from and move on the basis of names. Initially, there was no crisis of location on 18 August, i.e. the date set for the first session to elect the president of the republic. The Chamber of Deputies' temporary headquarters was at Mansur Palace. But the Lebanese Forces and General 'Awn obstructed the election by blocking roads, kidnapping some deputies, threatening others, and preventing yet others from reaching the site. The election was not held. The Lebanese Forces and General 'Awn raised the slogan that there had to be a congruence candidate. The United States and Syria then held contacts, and it was agreed on a candidate other than former President Franjiyah because the Lebanese Forces and General 'Awn had vetoed Franjiyah's candidacy. So it was agreed that any candidate other than Franjiyah would be as good as a congruence president. But General 'Awn and the Lebanese Forces again used their veto and blocked the holding of presidential elections under patriarchal protection. Consequently, they greatly obstructed the role the Maronite Patriarchate could have played in the presidential issue. The deadline for the presidential election passed, and we said that going beyond 23 September [without electing a president] would mean aimlessness. After 23 September, it became evident that the Lebanese Forces wanted their own candidate. General 'Awn's reaction demonstrated that he wanted no candidate other than himself. The general met with the doctor [Ja'ja']. One of them, the general, wanted no candidate other than himself and the other wanted no candidate other than one of his own. It was natural that matters would falter and that we would reach the crises we have reached. It has become obvious that no endeavor to leap over the agreement on political reform can lead to elections. The call for a congruence candidate means that the feuding factions have agreed on a candidate. For these factions to agree on a candidate means that they have to be in agreement on a number of political principles.

There is no crisis of persons in Lebanon, and it is not impossible for us, as Lebanese, to agree on a candidate for the Presidency. This is not a crisis and it has never been a crisis at any time. The real crisis is that to date we have not agreed on certain principles to overcome the crisis. There are those who want to maintain the crisis and elect a president and those who want to overcome the crisis and then elect a president. If the crisis has to be maintained, then there is no justification for presidential elections. Under the canopy of the crisis, it is not important if the elections are held because the election of a president will not lead to loosening any issue or any

problem. Not even the issue of the crossing points can be solved if a president is elected [under the canopy of the crisis]. Any discussion of elections removed from agreement on political reform is doomed to failure. This is what has happened to the Bkirki initiative. The patriarch's initiative doomed itself to a dead end when it emanated fundamentally from a starting point that disregards the reform issue. In other words, this initiative revolved around itself and reached a dead end. If another initiative issues tomorrow from Bkirki, from the deputies, from the influential forces, or from a source other than the internal or external influential sources, it will fail to reach its desired destination, i.e., presidential elections, if it does not deal with the political reform agreement. There is no longer any justification for the presence of a president of the republic in Lebanon if Lebanon's crisis is going to continue. Let the crisis continue without the presence of a president.

We Have Entered the Circle

[AL-ANWAR] The current given facts seem to indicate that the region is approaching fundamental solutions. Do you think that these solutions may reach Lebanon?

[Al-Amin] There is no doubt that the Middle East area has entered the circle of international concerns as a priority. It is possible that the Middle East issue was an international concern before this time. But it had low priority. The superpowers had more pressing problems than the Middle East crisis. Now that solutions have been developed for international problems of greater concern to the two superpowers, the Middle East crisis has climbed up the ladder of priorities. This has been reflected in the U.S. movement, in the Soviet movement, and in the U.S. recognition of the PLO in one way or another. There isn't, of course, a clear and explicit recognition of the PLO. However, U.S.-Palestinian contacts have been initiated.

There is no doubt that these elements are an important fundamental step in solving the Middle East issue. But these steps are still in their early phases and it is feared that they may falter. Moreover, it is not easy to determine prematurely that the Middle East crisis has found its way to a solution or that we have neared the end of this crisis that has been rocking the area for more than 40 years. However, it can be said that serious and effective endeavors have been launched to solve this problem. There is no doubt that Lebanon will be influenced by the relaxation of conditions around it, because Lebanon is influenced by whatever tension or relaxation develops around it. What happens around Lebanon constitutes assisting elements that help Lebanon overcome its crisis, but not the basis for overcoming the crisis. What happens constitutes assisting elements. If a solution is achieved around Lebanon, this does not mean that we have reached the crux of the solution [to our problem]. However, it is indubitable that it will be easy for the Lebanese to develop a solution in the sense that the crisis surrounding them will have relaxed, thus making it

easier for them to move. This means that Lebanon is governed by its own crisis first and then influenced by what happens around it. If we are unable to develop an internal solution by taking advantage of the relaxation around us, then I don't think it will be possible to overcome the crisis.

The crisis is in Lebanon primarily, even though it is influenced by what is around it. If the surrounding environment relaxes, the relaxation will help solve the crisis. But if we, as Lebanese, fail to move to meet the relaxation developing in the area around us, then I don't think there will be a solution.

Dangers of Resettlement

[AL-ANWAR] The Palestinian presence existing in Lebanon since the start of the Lebanese war constitutes a crisis and poses dangers to Lebanon, including the dangers of resettlement and of internal conflicts. In your opinion, is it possible for any solution confined to establishing a state in the [West] Bank and the [Gaza] Strip to end the Palestinian factor's role as an element of domestic detonation in our country?

[Al-Amin] Even if a state were to be established in the Bank and the Strip tomorrow, the Bank and the Strip do not mean Palestine. The Bank and the Strip are but small parts of Palestine. The Palestinian refugees are not from the Bank and the Strip. Some of them, constituting no more than seven or eight percent of all the Palestinian refugees existing in Lebanon at present, are from the Bank and the Strip. Principally, there is no Palestinian refugee from the Bank or the Strip in Lebanon because Lebanon's refugees are the 1948 refugees who are not from the Bank or the Strip, considering that these two areas were not occupied at the time.

The problem of the Palestinian presence persists. Will the international conference, a U.S.-Palestinian discussion, or an Israeli-Palestinian dialogue solve this problem? Will [the problem be solved by] the proclamation of a state or the establishment of a Palestinian state in the Bank and the Strip—rather on a part of the Bank and the Strip because the dialogue concerns so far a part of the Bank and the Strip and not the entire Bank and Strip? The Labor and the Likud agreed today on the construction of 8 more settlements in the Bank and the Strip. This means that Israel cannot relinquish certain parts of the Bank and the Strip to the Palestinians. So, can we say that the crisis of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon has ended? Certainly not. Will proclamation or establishment of the Palestinian state be an inlet to resettlement, keeping in mind that resettlement was an inlet to Lebanon's war?

So, proclamation of the Palestinian state can at any moment become the inlet to a new Lebanese crisis embodied in the transformation of resettlement from a concept to a reality. It is possible that the U.S.-Israeli agreement is to resettle the Palestinians where they are at

present because resettling them where they are will mean a new explosion and flareup in the Lebanese crisis, unless we, the Lebanese, are armed with a political agreement, with agreement on political reform, with an elected president of the republic, and with a comprehensive, national government that represents all of Lebanon's forces. If we are not thus armed, the day of payment will come. This payment is embodied in the establishment of the Palestinian state on Lebanon's soil while Lebanon is in its weakest condition. This will lead to further explosions in Lebanon because meeting the coming payment with the current division, feuding, and infighting means that the Palestinians will reimpose their position in the Lebanese arena which, in turn, means that this time the Palestinians may be resettled in Lebanon by a UN resolution at the expense of the Lebanese.

Therefore, one of the factors motivating the Lebanese political forces—I say here that one of the motives which Lebanon's Christians, who carried arms and fought the Palestinian presence under the slogan that the Palestinians are Muslims and that the Christian community will dissolve in Lebanon's Islamic majority which, to start with, is growing and to which the Palestinians in Lebanon are added...these Christians must realize as of now that the coming payment resulting from proclamation of the Palestinian state will be bitter to Lebanon and to Lebanon's Christians if they do not immediately return to the national logic and if they do not back down on the privileges that have brought them nothing but war, eviction, devastation, and destruction. They must cede these privileges for the sake of the country, not of the Muslims or of others. They must cede their privileges for the sake of the survival of Lebanon as a unique political and social entity in the Arab homeland and in this area—an entity that protects itself with this unique model. This does not mean absolving the Muslims of meeting the payment due. The Muslims must also meet this payment. When we say that the Christians must do this it is because the ball is in the Christian court. What we mean is that those who insist on clinging to the privileges, to the Presidency, and to their positions are the ones who are obstructing agreement.

Israel's Interest First

[AL-ANWAR] Don't you think that by clinging to his privileges, the Christian proceeds from the fact that the democratic change in Lebanon is moving at an accelerated pace in the direction of the Muslims by virtue of their increasing numbers and that, consequently, any active religious political movement can in the future strike the very core of the Christian presence?

[Al-Amin] I don't think that Lebanon is a fertile soil for the presence of major Muslim or Christian fundamentalist currents. Fundamentalist currents may surface in Lebanon. Such currents did surface on the Christian side first and then on the Muslim side. The Christian fundamentalism embodied in the Phalanges and the Lebanese Forces surfaced before the Muslim fundamentalism, embodied in

Hizbullah, the Unification Movement, and others. It is my assessment that Lebanon's Islamic fundamentalist movement is, in fact, a reaction to the Christian fundamentalism which emerged with the start of the war. This fundamentalism is governed by the following: The fundamentalist current can continue to advance in the Islamic environment only to the extent Christian fundamentalism continues to control Christian affairs.

What does this mean? It means basically that abolition of the sectarian privileges in Lebanon will lead to eliminating Lebanon's Muslim and Christian fundamentalism and that clinging to the Christian privileges in Lebanon will mean boosting and enhancing the Islamic fundamentalism as a reaction to these privileges to which Lebanon's Christian fundamentalism and Christian leadership cling. This leads to the following conclusion: A Lebanon without sectarian privileges can survive as a country and a homeland in which all social forces, religious sects, and political factions express themselves and continue to be present and to play a role. It is my assessment that this will, in the long run, serve and secure the Christian presence, contrary to the Christian fundamentalists' belief that clinging to the privileges and to the Christians' distinguished role in Lebanon serves the Christians' survival. Christian fundamentalism destroyed the Christian presence in Mount Lebanon and the Christian role in the south, whereas Christian moderation in Zgharta has preserved the Christian presence in the north.

The Christians are aware that the West's relationship with the Christians is a relationship of interests, not of affections. In 1975, the United States made the Lebanese Christians the offer to leave Lebanon and live in Australia, Canada, or the United States. The United States made this offer in the interest of Israel because a Christian departure in 1975, the time when Brown made the offer, was aimed at resettling the Palestinians in the place of Lebanon's Christians, i.e., it was aimed at solving the Palestinian problem at the expense of Lebanon's Christians.

Everything Is Possible

[AL-ANWAR] Do you think that to the Americans, this solution is still possible?

[Al-Amin] The West and the United States will embrace any solution that serves Israel's interests because the U.S.' primary ally and most advanced position in the area is Israel, not the Christians or the Muslims. Therefore, the main objective of any U.S. movement is to protect Israel. If expelling Lebanon's Christians or getting rid of them serves Israel's interests, then the West will certainly help oust the Christians from Lebanon.

Dialogue of Guns

[AL-ANWAR] If the Christian is required to hold dialogue with the Lebanese national forces, then with which force can he hold this dialogue when these national forces are holding their own inter-dialogue with guns and street wars?

[Al-Amin] There is no doubt that the current dialogue language may be strange. When we talk of dialogue, we find ourselves at times talking of illusions because Lebanon lacks completely the ethics of dialogue between parties. As you have said in your question, there is a dialogue with guns between allies, whether in East Beirut or in West Beirut, such as the dialogue between the Lebanese Forces and Amin [al-Jumayyil], between the Lebanese Forces and the Phalanges, or between the Phalanges and the Liberals. The dialogue between the West Beirut parties is entirely with guns. It has never been a verbal dialogue around a table.

When we speak of dialogue we don't so much speak of parties as of principles. When the principles are presented clearly, one finds that there are political forces that take fundamental positions on the dialogue. It is unreasonable on Ja'ja's part to state that he is ready for dialogue with Syria without any preconditions. The United States and Yasir 'Arafat did not embark on dialogue without preconditions; the dialogue has not taken place without preconditions. Despite the ceaseless secret contacts between the United States and the PLO throughout 10 years, this dialogue has taken place only within the framework of political preconditions. In the case of Yasir 'Arafat and the United States, the latter did, of course, dictate its conditions to Yasir 'Arafat who accepted them and started the dialogue. In the Gulf war, the Iranians and Iraqis were not able to engage in dialogue without preconditions. In Lebanon, there have to be preconditions, and the first precondition is the severance of relations with Israel.

Failed Experiments

[AL-ANWAR] It is noticed that the eastern areas have been able to form popular committees to organize the conditions on the ground and that they have created strong information media whereas we find that the western areas have failed to form any committee. As for our media, one can talk endlessly about them. Al-Sana'i's broadcasting station is dying, and so is Channel 7, and no alternatives are being created. Why?

[Al-Amin] The talk about creating popular bodies and committees is lengthy. Both East Beirut and West Beirut have experimented with these issues and all their experiments have failed because the experiments amounted to no more than one form or another of economic control and domination of the people. The rumors about a successful administration in East Beirut are untrue, as evidenced by the fact that closing the crossing points to starve West Beirut has led to a semiexplosion in East Beirut. This proves that the militias have not been able to organize the people's affairs. If they were able to, the boycott of West Beirut would not have hurt them.

Moreover, there isn't an independent administrative apparatus in East Beirut or in West Beirut. We are connected economically and in living matters, and it is not easy to sever the bonds. When they are severed, one

can see the harmful negative ramifications on both sides. This proves that what exists are institutions to collect protection money and to levy taxes on people. Are they more successful in East Beirut? Yes, because one body is in control there whereas we have more than one body. This is why less money is collected from the people here.

As for al-Sana'i's broadcasting station and Channel 7, they are government institutions and the government made decisions concerning these institutions before the military cabinet was formed. Channel 7 lacks the minimum required for any information agency. The same goes for the broadcasting station. The government has refused so far to give the station or Channel 7 any resources. The television employees even need paper on which to write the news reports but the government refuses to supply it.

[AL-ANWAR] What role does the al-Huss cabinet play?

[Al-Amin] We are talking about the period prior to the al-Huss cabinet. Even if the al-Huss cabinet started making efforts as of this moment, we would not see the results of its action in 1 or 2 months, because there have been tens of years of deprivation. We do not say this to defend the forces present in West Beirut. We see their faults more clearly than others do, and we are aware that the national forces lack the minimum requirement, namely, the presence of an effective unified national command. It is enough for this element to be missing in order that all else may be missing. If there isn't a unified or a single command to lead the political action, then all kinds of dereliction become a foregone conclusion. However, there are circumstances that are greatly beyond the capability of these forces. Add to this the intrinsic inability of these forces to confront these issues. In any case, this failure in East Beirut and in West Beirut means the inevitable resurrection of Lebanon.

QATAR

Methods To Develop Water Resources Discussed 44040206 Doha *AL-RAYAH* in Arabic 25 Dec 88 p 3

[By al-'Azab al-Tayyib]

[Text] It has become necessary to block any waste and depletion of our water resources, because the situation no longer requires tolerance in the face of this. The question is not how we shall protect the water resources available to us in Qatar, but how these resources can be augmented.

Answering this question was the focus of a conference that the Industry and Agriculture Ministry's Department of Agricultural and Hydrological Research recently organized. Engineer 'Abd-al-Rahman Yusuf, the department's deputy director, conducted the conference.

Ten agencies and departments whose functions relate to water participated in this conference. They included: Qatar University, the Department of Electricity and Water, the Technical Center for Industrial Development, the Department of Meteorology, the Municipality of Doha, the Department of Civil Engineering, the Qatar National Committee for Education, Culture, and Science, the Permanent Committee on Environmental Protection, the Department of Industrial Affairs, and the Department of Agricultural and Hydrological Research. How do officials of these departments and agencies see the various dimensions of the problem of augmenting water resources?

To begin, Engineer Ahmad 'Abd-al-Malik, head of the irrigation and drainage section of the Department of Agricultural and Hydrological Research, explained the water resources in the State of Qatar. He indicated that there were traditional resources, such as ground water, which was the only main source now being exploited in agriculture due to its low production cost per cubic meter. This water depends for replenishment on scarce rain water. There are nontraditional sources, such as sea water desalination. This is used only for drinking purposes; its use for agricultural purposes would be uneconomical due to the high cost of desalination per cubic meter. The second nontraditional source is treated sewage water. Considered cheaper than desalinated sea water, this source has been used in agriculture. During this season, 40,000 cubic meters were used for the first time to irrigate fodder crops and grain at the 680-hectare al-Rakiyah project for dairy cattle raising.

Eng Ahmad 'Abd-al-Malik stressed the importance of rationalizing irrigation water use in agricultural operations by:

- Selecting crops resistant to salinity and dryness or with low water requirements,
- Covering the soil surface with organic, chemical, or plastic materials to reduce evaporation,
- Acclimatization (briefly, this involves treating seeds of a known weight with water; the seeds are placed in a certain weight of water and left until they absorb it all, then air-dried until they return to their original weight, the process being repeated several times),
- Use of windbreaks to keep away strong winds,
- Shading in order to reduce the amount of solar radiation, thus reducing daily evaporation and consequently the water requirements of the plants,
- Use of ordinary ditching plows to plow heavy, medium, and light soil, and
- Use of modern irrigation systems—spray irrigation being preferred for root crops and fodder, fountain irrigation being preferred for all long-lived trees, citrus, and palms, and drip irrigation (which can save between 40 and 70 percent of traditional water consumption) being preferred for vegetable crops planted far apart.

Salih al-Kawari of the Department of Electricity and Water spoke about the possible use of excess ground water beneath Doha. He explained that a high water level

beneath cities and developing areas was a condition common to Qatar and other Gulf States in recent years. The rapid social and economic development of the Gulf States had brought about the production and distribution of large and increasing amounts of drinking water for domestic, business, and industrial use. Water distribution and sewer networks had grown remarkably, often in a way exceeding the design and supervision abilities of relevant officials. Maintenance operations had been limited to repairing breakdowns, instead of being directed toward regular maintenance and planning to raise the efficiency of the lines. A rising standard of living and increased income had led to the improvement and development of domestic conveniences and an increase in garden watering. Villas had been built in the suburbs and surrounding lands, instead of apartments and town houses lacking extra land to be planted. This had led to increased water consumption, which was not limited to satisfying the increasing domestic requirements of individuals, but was also for the large irrigation requirements of public parks, gardens, planted areas, and trees.

He added that excess irrigation water, drinking water leaking from the distribution network, and leakage from sewer tanks were the basic sources replenishing ground water, in addition to rain water, which constituted a principal, but variable source. In 1982, this had led to an 1.7-million-cubic-[meter] increase in the water stored in the aquifer layer. This was sufficient for a .28-meter yearly rate of water level increase in the Doha area. The ample rains that fell during spring 1988 had led to a temporary 1-meter water level rise, accompanied by water accumulation in large areas of the city. Today, there lies under the much expanded city of Doha a clearly marked, extensive hill of ground water whose highest point is 9 meters above sea level. It is a result of the increasing amount of water being brought into the rapidly developing city from water desalination plants and wells located in the north of Qatar. This water feeds the ground basin through water lost from the drinking water network, sewer tanks, and the irrigation of public and private gardens. This increased water production has caused a troublesome and immediate rise in the ground water level under the city of Doha. This has affected the city, causing great difficulty in construction projects and in excavations to lay water pipes, sewer pipes, telephone cables, and electrical lines. There are also latent health dangers represented by the existence of quantities of exposed water polluted with sewage water. A plan must therefore be made quickly to decrease the rate at which the basin is being fed and to lower the level, if only locally, since there is little chance of a decline in the rate of water importation.

Dr Muhammad al-Haruni of the Technical Center for Industrial Development suggested the possibility of treating well water in the State of Qatar, particularly since wells are considered the principal source of irrigation water. He said:

"We must search for the best ways to desalinate well water so that it can be used for irrigation. This water

contains a large amount of calcium sulphate, which hinders various desalination operations. The substance causes various kinds of damage in multistage vaporization and reverse pressure water desalination units, weakening their efficiency. We must search for means to get rid of this substance, or at least reduce its proportion. Experiments to rid well water of this substance chemically, using precipitation technologies, have been successful; however, their high cost has prevented their use on a practical scale."

Dr al-Haruni indicated that the Technical Center for Industrial Development had contacted an Italian company active in the sea water desalination field. This company had successfully built many sea water desalination units using the multistage flash method and had increased their efficiency by lowering the sulphate content of the sea water by passing it over a special resin. The problem of well water in the State of Qatar had been reviewed in the Italian company's laboratories. Tests had been run on laboratory-prepared solutions similar in composition to the water of certain Qatari wells. It had become evident that this method would almost certainly be technically and economically feasible for reducing the amount of sulphates in the well water, so that it would become suitable for feeding the desalination units. Qatar had therefore signed a joint technical cooperation agreement under which a treatment system had been designed, equipment and apparatus set up, and the required resin selected. The treatment unit had been connected with the water desalination unit, and a method of drawing and transporting water from the wells had been arranged with Ministry of Industry and Agriculture facilitation and cooperation. Experiments had been going on since 1985 in the Umm Sa'id laboratories of the Technical Center for Industrial Development. The treatment method had succeeded in lowering the amount of sulphate by between 60 and 95 percent.

Dr al-Haruni recommended developing these experiments into the practical domain by using a treatment unit and a desalination unit with an output of between 100 and 300 cubic meters, so that the economics of well water desalination and the cost per cubic meter of desalinated water could be determined. He also recommended a thorough study of the economics of this method compared with other methods.

Engineer Jasim Salman al-Sayigh of the Department of Civil Engineering in the Ministry of Public Works showed how sewage water could be treated and used. He explained that it cost about 1.27 ryials to treat 1 cubic meter of sewage water, while it cost about 6 ryials for desalinated water. By using treated water, the state had saved about 18 million ryials a year. The average quantity of sewage water treated in the city of Doha was about 60,000 cubic meters a day. It was used for watering roadside plantings and for growing animal fodder. According to 1986-87 statistics, the amount of sewage water treated in Qatar was about 5,324 [million] gallons a year, while the amount of well water was 375.3 million gallons a year. That is, treated sewage water was a larger source than ground water.

As Nasir Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman Ibn-al-Shaykh of the Industrial Affairs Department of the Ministry of Industry and Agriculture made clear, industry, too, influences water consumption, especially the nonmetallic mining industries sector. He made several recommendations which he thought would help rationalize water consumption in this area. The most important of these were:

- Rationalizing the granting of industrial permits to water bottling plants and to the building products industry,
- Possible formation of a committee to study the relation between water drawn from wells belonging to building materials factories and construction, the effect of this on the life expectancy of public installations, and the consequent economic burdens, with the aim of prohibiting the use of well water in the manufacture of building materials,
- Consideration of the use of salt-resistant cement, in case the use of well water continues, provided this does not influence the ground water reservoir in the State of Qatar.

Finally, we come to the role that Qatar University might play in developing educational and training programs in hydrology. This was what Dr 'Izzat 'Ali Qarni of the sciences faculty and Dr 'Abdallah Sadiq Bazar'ah of the engineering faculty made clear, particularly as relates to carrying out the preparation of geologists or civil engineers to work in the water sector. This could take place through the following channels:

- Proposing the subjects connected with the sciences and technologies of water after a review of study plans in the geology and civil engineering departments, and developing new exact specializations in the sciences and technologies of water,
- Attendance by interested workers in the water sector at one or more courses, since current university regulations allow this,
- Developing a system of continuing education by organizing courses or short study conferences in water sciences and technologies at various levels for groups of professionals working in the water sector—this to be done through coordination between the university and the organizations working in the country's water sector,
- Moving toward beginning a program of diploma-level studies at the present time, thus providing an opportunity to complete courses dealing with subjects connected with the sciences and technologies of water,
- Preparing prospective Qatari faculty members to specialize in subjects related to the sciences and technologies of water, so as to make use of the exchange student system, with possible use of a system of joint scientific channels with Arab and foreign universities having a prescribed scientific level in hydrological sciences and technologies,
- Moving to begin an instruction and training program for technical graduation in the water field after 2

years of study and training following the general secondary diploma, with preparation for work in the following technical specializations: excavating, operating desalination plants, operating sewage water treatment plants, operating irrigation technology, land reclamation, treatment of leakage in city water lines, and water project maintenance and development.

SAUDI ARABIA

Planning Ministry Issues Report on Economic Status, Prospects

44000286 Jeddah ARAB NEWS in English 8 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by S. Sidahmed: "GDP Growth Rate in 1990 Set at 8 Percent"]

[Text] Riyadh, Jan. 7—The Kingdom's GDP [gross domestic product] and non-oil private sector are expected to achieve positive growth by the end of next year according to the Planning Ministry. The first one is expected to attain 8.1 percent growth rate and the second 4.3 percent.

These figures and others were revealed in a paper presented by the ministry to a symposium on the role of private sector in development held here and inaugurated today by Petroleum and Mineral Resources Minister and acting Planning Minister Hisham Nazir, who emphasized the role that could be played by the private sector, especially after the government has helped it by building state-of-the-art infrastructure.

According to the paper, the GDP has shown a decline in the first three years of the current Five-Year Plan due to end in 1990. It registered negative growth in 1985 and 1986 of 14.8 percent and 6.3 percent respectively. At the same time, the private sector registered too a negative growth rate during the same two years of 11.9 percent and 6.8 percent respectively.

The paper added that over the past years the number of operating companies of all categories has increased totaling now 7,060 with combined investment of SR83.2 billion, while in the first three years of the current plan the number of workers has dropped from 1.1 million to 881,253.

The plan estimated that the non-oil, private sector investments will grow by 10 percent annually to bring capital formation to 48 percent by the end of the plan in 1990 and that total investments amount to SR56.6 billion, while oil sector accounts for SR17.2 billion and government sector SR44.7 billion.

However, according to the paper, 1984 was the peak year for the achievement, when GDP contributed SR69.8 billion to productive sectors dropping to its lowest level in 1987 by contributing SR59.3 billion, then increasing last year to SR60.4 billion and is expected to be SR64.3 billion this year.

For services sector, the figure for 1984 was SR92.6 billion, dropping to SR66.7 billion in 1987, the lowest level, then increasing to SR69.8 billion last year and expected to reach SR71.4 billion this year. Oil sector has achieved SR135.2 billion in 1984, SR99.4 billion in 1985, SR88.8 billion the following year, then SR91 in 1987 and SR80.6 billion last year and expected to be SR89.8 billion this year.

The paper pointed out that the coming Five-Year Plan will go along the strategy of giving more chances to the private sector. Moreover, it comes at a time when there is more stability in the oil market either through policies adopted by the Kingdom inside and outside OPEC like restructuring its oil industry to make it more competitive or through profit earning.

The paper, however, suggests that a ministerial committee be set up to look into proposals for privatization and getting some government bodies to the private sector. Areas of petrochemical industry, export-oriented and import substitutes are highly recommended areas for the private sector activity, it said. Besides, there is a need to create bigger organs and combine small projects, give more attention to regional development and use subsidies and related services as a means to encourage the private sector. The paper concluded by saying that Europe is moving into unity by 1992 and is high time for the public and private sectors to cooperate and create a base within the GCC to help the national economy to be in a better negotiating position.

According to SPA [expansion unknown]: Finance and National Economy Minister Muhammad Aba-al-Kha'il, Industry and Electricity Minister 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Zamil and senior officials attended the opening session of the three-day symposium.

Addressing the symposium, Nazir reasserted the importance of the private sector's role for the comprehensive development in the Kingdom.

He said the state is responsible for preparing development plans and their supervision while the private sector is responsible for implementing these plans.

He enumerated efforts being exerted by the state to complete the infrastructure and support public services projects by extending incentives and loans to finance activities of the private sector as well as granting customs exemptions for imported equipment and raw materials needed by industry.

Nazir said the state has also imposed customs tariffs on imported goods for protecting the national products in addition to other privileges and facilities, which include implementation of the policy of preferential treatment of local products.

"In line with sound planning and encouragement from the government, the private sector has been playing an important role in the implementation of the development plans," he added.

Nazir said the upcoming period represents a great challenge to the Saudi businessmen because development plans have been stressing the need to transfer some of the public sector undertakings to the private sector. "This operation is not an easy task because in addition to the capital, it needs self-denial. But this does not mean that the businessmen should invest their capital in non-profitable ventures. They should invest in projects which have national dimensions and that needs efforts, patience and responsibility," Nazir said.

Nazir urged the businessmen to have confidence in themselves and take initiatives.

The symposium is scheduled to review six research papers prepared by the participants including one on the role of the private sector in the development and future expectations prepared by the Planning Ministry. It aims at shedding light on the Kingdom's philosophy toward the private sector and highlighting challenges and obstacles facing the sector.

Another paper deals with the direction of the private sector toward more productive phase. This research investigates the capability of the private sector.

The third research tackles means of promoting the effectiveness of the private sector. The remaining three research papers deal with the private sector's ability to operate public projects and economies of private and public sectors.

Chamber of Commerce Head Discusses New Budget

44000288 Jeddah ARAB NEWS in English 7 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by Doug Graham: "Budget To Help Offset Oil Price Fluctuations"]

[Text] Riyadh, Jan. 6—Financing in the new 1989 budget will help smooth out distortions caused by fluctuating oil prices, the secretary-general of the Council of Saudi Chambers of Commerce and Industry told ARAB NEWS.

"It was a pleasant news to hear that we will be able to manage with the same expenditure this year as we had last year," said 'Abdallah Dabbagh, secretary-general of the Council. "And it was also good news to see that the deficit will decrease by about SR13 billion from 1988,

and that financing the budget will come solely from treasury certificates rather than from the general reserves like what happened in the last few years."

"Also, it was positive to see that developmental projects and human resources development and so forth, and government lending and government subsidies are intact."

The new budget provides SR48 billion (\$12.80 billion) for development projects and defense. Many development projects are now underway, including the billion-dollar programs to expand the Prophet's Mosque in Medina and the Grand Mosque in Mecca. Few new large projects are expected in the upcoming year.

Revenue this year is expected to reach SR116 billion (\$30.93 billion) which is 10.1 percent lower than 1988 estimated revenue of SR105.3 billion (\$28.08 billion). Last year, government spent 35.74 percent of its budget on defense. This year, the defense sector plus development projects account for 34.0 percent of the budget.

Dabbagh said the new budget protects the citizens and apparently maintains the status quo for expatriates as well.

Financing will take place through government borrowing. The government predicts only an SR25 billion (\$6.67 billion) deficit.

"If the state has to borrow from banks, this was done to enable the citizen to enjoy all the privileges provided by the state," the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques King Fahd said in his budget speech broadcast on state television.

In the 1988 budget, the deficit was SR35.9 billion (\$9.57 billion), the Ministry of Finance and National Economy reported. This was lower than the projected deficit, which was SR38 billion. Of this, SR30 billion (\$8 billion) was to come from bonds, while SR8 billion (\$2.13 billion) came from a drawdown of the government's reserves. This year, no drawdown will be made, he said.

However, actual borrowing this year may vary. The budget has set a limit of SR25 billion, but less might be borrowed as well. Banks say that the bonds were taken last year mainly by the banks, and by the General Organization for Social Insurance (GOSI) and the Civil Service Pension Fund.

The bonds were first offered in one, two, three, four and five-year maturities, but the one-year maturity bonds have been discontinued. The big buyers of the bonds have been the larger banks, such as National Commercial Bank, Riyad Bank, Saudi American Bank and Arab National Bank. Some of the banks have begun placing bonds in their mutual funds, and some, but not many, have been sold directly to large private investors.

The new budget appears to be based on an estimated oil price of \$15 per barrel. King Fahd has repeatedly warned OPEC members, that Saudi Arabia will not be the only OPEC member to honor its production quota.

Some sources say the completion of Rabigh Oil Refinery and the strength of the petrochemical sector will provide additional income. Others say that additional revenue-raising steps may be taken.

Dabbagh said the new budget reflects a government desire for stability in the economy. The economy is doing well, he said.

"The good news is that the rate of growth, the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP), grew 3.2 percent," he said. "The non-oil rate of growth was 1.6 percent." Dabbagh said. This was significant, because in 1985 and 1986, non-oil GDP declined. IN 1987 it rose by one percent.

"The increase in the industrial sector was about four percent in 1988, compared to two percent in 1987," he added.

SUDAN

Sudanese National Labor Party Withdraws From USAP

45000117 Khartoum *AL-SIYASAH* in Arabic
26 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] The Sudanese National Labor Party [SNLP] announced in a communique yesterday its withdrawal from the Union of Sudan African Parties [USAP]. The party attributed this withdrawal to differing views within the African bloc related to the recent peace initiative signed by the Democratic Unionist Party and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement. The party's statement said that the recent initiative is not in keeping with the party's concept of a basis for achieving a comprehensive peace in the country. It said that the party supports any sound initiative to establish peace.

In its statement, the party also announced its support for the government's steps to bring about peace and for the prime minister's recent statement before the Constituent Assembly, indicating that the prime minister's speech had opened a new revival in the development of political vision toward the country's progress and growth.

The party also announced in its statement that it is prepared to participate in the new government. James Paul (Adiang), president of the SNLP, also asked the USAP to reconsider its previous position and participate in supporting the government and the prime minister's announcement.

Report Places 1,050 of Ibn 'Umar's Forces in Darfur

45000113 Khartoum *AL-USBU* in Arabic 22 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] One thousand fifty of Ibn 'Umar's forces remain; their number is 950 soldiers, and the government has demanded an explanation for the 1,050 soldiers still in Darfur. [figures as published]

It has been explained that Chadian elements have burned 79 villages and the people of 143 villages have fled, an indication that more than 4,000 of Darfur's people have become refugees in the region.

It has been affirmed that the Chadian opposition detachments are centered on the Darfur Region and that the government has requested their detention and an explanation for the foreign presence in Darfur, indicating that the tribal struggles in Darfur did not reach the extent of annihilation that these events had indicated. It was also affirmed that the foreign presence in the region had played a large role in these events.

Islamic Trend Sweeps Cairo University Branch Elections

45000116 Khartoum *AL-SIYASAH* in Arabic
26 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] The Islamic trend achieved a resounding victory in the student union elections at the Khartoum branch of Cairo University which were announced yesterday. The Islamic trend student with the most votes was Mu'tasim Rahmah with 3,415 votes, and Islamic trend student Ahmad al-Mubarak received the trend's fewest votes with 3,330.

However, the most votes received by the [Communist/Ba'thist/Democratic Unionist/Nasirist] coalition was 2,010—1,320 votes below the lowest number of votes received by the Islamic trend.

The number of students who cast their ballots was 10,090, a 68.8-percent turnout. The Islamic trend made great progress compared with the 600 votes it received in last year's elections.

The coalition of Communists, Ba'thists, Democratic Unionists, and Nasirists took second place, far behind the Islamic trend. Then came the Islamic solidarity slates, comprised of Ummah Party students, the Conference of Independents, and the Islamic Union, which includes the Ansar al-Sunnah.

Police forces arrested six coalition members for possession of daggers, knives, and cleavers who had attempted acts of provocation and brawls within the election committees as a result of their feelings of defeat.

After the announcement of the results, the students performed prayers of thanks and the Islamic trend held a crowded meeting at which its leaders spoke.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Al-Shariqah's Industrial Plans, Development Discussed

44000289 *Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES* in English
12 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by P. S. Ramanathan: "Al-Shariqah Gears for Boom in Industry"]

[Text] As the airplane descends to al-Shariqah International Airport passengers are confronted by a striking 'floral inscription' at one of the city's well-greened roundabouts: Smile, you are in al-Shariqah!

Till recently, the message tended to be of great relevance to residents and tourists. Lately, it has become equally, if not more, inspiring for industrialists seeking to settle in the emirate.

The Government of al-Shariqah and al-Shariqah's Chamber of Commerce and Industry [SCCI?] are sparing no efforts to transform the emirate into one big free zone, where entrepreneurs will feel at home and naturally contribute to mutual advancement.

More Companies

Current indications are that more companies than ever before are moving in al-Shariqah. According to Chamber of Commerce and Industry President, Shaykh Muhammad Ibn-Salim Sultan al-Qasimi, the emirate has had an 80 percent spurt in the number of applications for new licences last year. "This reflects the fact that between 30 and 40 percent of all new investment in the UAE in 1988 has been in al-Shariqah, which probably has the most diversified manufacturing base in the Gulf," he is quoted as having said to THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE in a recent interview.

With five new industrial ventures registered, the number of manufacturing units in al-Shariqah now is 270, covering heavy, medium and light industries. Recent start-ups include a Dh22-million paper processing plant with Japanese technical knowhow, a Dh18-million food processing and packaging factory and a Dh10-million iron and steel recycling unit.

Main Issue

The main issue being discussed on al-Burj Avenue, the principal business district also known as the Bank Street, is how al-Shariqah can prepare itself to meet opportunities arising out of the ceasefire between Iran and Iraq. The general feeling is that there will be a gradual increase in activity instead of a sudden spurt.

In any case, al-Shariqah is determined to snatch a large share of the construction and reconstruction in the two war-ravaged countries, an operation that could be worth

a minimum \$200 billion but could as well be in the vicinity of \$300 billion, as there is substantial difference between the way experts estimate the costs.

The main opportunity, as the al-Shariqah Chamber of Commerce and Industry foresees, is probably supplying all kinds of building materials and consumer goods. It also sees golden opportunities for local and joint-venture construction companies. As one of the Gulf ports closest to Iran, al-Shariqah has considered advantages to exploit.

Industrial Raw Materials

The needs of building and reconstruction industries in Iran and Iraq would vary according to each stage. Once the need for building materials is over, they would need industrial raw materials, furniture and fittings, electrical appliances and a variety of consumer goods including domestic appliances.

With its excellent infrastructure and enormous capacity at manufacturing units, al-Shariqah seems to be quite well placed to be in the thick of Iran-Iraq-bound activity. Industrialists, existing and prospective, can have ample opportunity in the coming years, economists feel.

Those venturing into al-Shariqah are likely to benefit from the substantial new incentives currently being proposed to the Government by the Chamber of Commerce. With the already liberal attitude that prevails in the emirate toward new business. Shaykh Muhammad Ibn-Salim Sultan al-Qasimi can see little point in creating the kind of free zone, or free port, adopted by other authorities in the region.

"We have no need for the conventional free zone idea. We are going to become one 'big free zone' by changing the legislation throughout the emirate," he explains.

Radical Changes Planned

Radical changes planned include: Full foreign ownership, with no need for a local partner; no taxes; no limit on repatriation of profits; 70 percent subsidy for utility supplies; nominal land lease charges; new relaxed sponsorship regulations; lower labour rates; minimal red tape; and project licence approval within 10 days.

"I think we can really offer incentives which cannot yet be matched by anyone else in this region. And what's more, overall costs in al-Shariqah can be up to 35 percent lower than anywhere in the UAE," Shaykh Muhammad Ibn-Salim Sultan al-Qasimi is quoted as saying.

Al-Shariqah's industrial sector has been developing rapidly, partly because of the facilities it offers for re-exporters—twin ports and growing sea-air cargo activity.

But what is so unique about al-Shariqah, "the largest industrial state" in the UAE, as the SCCI President refers to it?

"On the industrial side, we are larger than the rest of the country, with 270 factories covering heavy and light manufacturing sectors. We even have a factory (Green Line Company Limited) selling furniture in London and Manhattan. When that happened, nobody believed it at first, and they even sent a commercial officer from an embassy to check out that the furniture was actually made here," Shaykh Muhammad Ibn-Salim Sultan al-Qasimi said.

But the industrial strength of al-Shariqah can be said as lying in industries such as plastics, fibreglass and gas-related business. The last-named is due to the availability of gas locally as a raw material. There is plenty of gas, and no transport costs.

Good Fortune

The emirate sees a good future in food packaging and canning, for instance for tomato ketchup, as there is a surplus of locally produced tomatoes in many seasons. The country absorbs between 15 and 20 percent of the farm produce from the Khawr Fakkan and Kalba area.

AFGHANISTAN

Army General on Special Guard Units
46000090a Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
6 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Mohammad Afzal Loodin: "Special Guard Units a Well-Organized, Force: General Loodin"; date and place not given]

[Text] Lt Gen Mohammad Afzal Loodin granted on Jan. 1 an interview to the correspondent of the Radio-TV on the successes the special guard units have scored in reinstating the security as well as the combat preparedness of the guard units in paralysing the hostile designs and deeds of the extremists.

Text of the interview is given below:

Asked to comment on the country's political and military situation when the extremist opponents are seeking to pursue the strategy of 'occupying' some cities and putting 'pressure' on the armed forces, the commander of special guard said: "As to the political situation in the country, first of all it should be noted that a peaceful struggle has been underway since long before in the country for the political settlement of the problems. The humanitarian programme of national reconciliation has invoked hopes for a total peace to the people of Afghanistan and to the world people. Noteworthy are the Geneva Agreements on Afghanistan as well as the recent peace initiatives of the Republic of Afghanistan. Similarly, Najibullah, President of the Republic and the Supreme Commander of the armed forces declared a truce and subsequently he highlighted in his recent Radio-TV speech issues pertaining to peace in Afghanistan.

As far as the military situation is concerned, Afghanistan possesses a powerful armed forces well competent of defending the country's and the people's interests. In this regard, I want to cite some examples I myself have seen in some combat operations in Kandahar, Nangarhar and Kunduz, the strength of the armed forces and the defeat of the extremists. Also notable are the successes of the armed forces, the strength and the resistance put up by the local people, party members along with the servicemen of the armed forces in rebuffing the extremists in Laghman and Zabul. Therefore I can assure that the enemies can never find access to the strategic points they cherish for. Thanks to the strength and the credibility of the armed forces they independently resist in 25 provinces where Soviets have withdrawn.

On the security situation in the capital he said: "A thorough security and calm prevails in the capital, particularly in the city itself. The extremists shell long-range rockets on Kabul citizens, killing children and women, this proves they lack any other possibilities here. Committing such criminal acts, they unveil more than ever before their filthy faces to the country's whole population particularly to Kabul citizens.

"Our armed forces, now equipped with modern and very heavy fire power can defend not only the Kabul city, but can shoot any point in the whole territory of the country. Those seeking to disrupt the peaceful life of the people, will meet the widely-devastating power of armed forces."

Asked to speak on the types of the new sophisticated weapons mentioned above, and on their impact in the ongoing war and that taking account of the peace process in the country won't they flare up hostilities in the country. Loodin pointed: As the countrymen watched through the TV the terrific weapons of armed forces exercised some time ago, these weapons are many times more devastating than what they had previously. They can raze to ground a large area. As to their connection with the peace process, they are defensive weapons and we carry on a tactical defensive policy, and are always in this position. We take counter-measures when we see the tranquillity of our people and citizens are spoiled by the extremists. Ours is a defense doctrine", he added.

Answering another question on the servicemen's morale, Lt Gen Mohammad Afzal Loodin, commander of the special guard, said: "As a military man, I can point out that we could not defend the country and did not have thousands of martyrs and heroes if our armed forces did not possess a high morale. With a high combat morale, our armed forces have been ever-prepared during the years of the war to safeguard the country and the people's life standards.

Replying a question as to whether the guards would have more troops, if necessary for defending Kabul city, the General said: "Our armed forces possess a considerable reserve force. However special guard is the most well-organized force formed in the framework of the country's armed forces. The units of the special guard have returned with unforgettable epics and heroisms in their fight against the opponents and the extremists in different parts of the country. It is a powerful and trustworthy reserve force for Kabul city."

"The statement of the Republic delivered some days ago by Najibullah, President of the RA and Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, is a comprehensive document," said Loodin. "We are ready for peace in every way. If the enemies or the extremists do not get closer to our posts despite that we will deal them such shattering blows which they have not experienced as yet, but we will prefer peace as the President said," Loodin concluded.

Thousands of Children Sent to Camps in USSR
46000088d Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
12 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] Kabul, Jan. 10, (BIA)—Around three thousand children of the toiling people of the country are sent to recreation camps of Central Asian Republics of the Soviet Union by Central Council of Trade Unions [TU] of Afghanistan.

A source of the Central Council of TUs of Afghanistan told BIA correspondent, that on the basis of a protocol signed between the Central Council of TUs of Afghanistan and the Central Council of All Soviet Vocational Unions, 6,900 children of the toiling people from the capital and provinces of the country including 76 trainers of Kabul, Mazar-i-Sharif and Kunduz provinces have so far made use of program since the Afghan year 1361 (1982).

Under the program the Afghan children have visited the camps, historical monuments of Tashken, Dushenbe and Fronze cities, museum memorial buildings, exhibitions, industrial production factories of the mentioned cities.

For the purpose of helping the talents of students grow further and raising their cultural level, TUs of Afghanistan have built cultural houses with art, literature and sport clubs operating in them, in Herat, Badakhshan, Nimroz, Balkh and Parwan provinces and Khost division.

Over 700 Industrial Projects Established
46000089c *Kabul THE KABUL TIMES in English*
15 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] The private and mixed sectors play a significant role in setting up industrial projects throughout the country. For example, the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan has so far approved the establishment of 705 projects with a total capital of Afs. 21,576 billion.

Out of them 342 chemical and foodstuffs industries, construction, metal work, medicine, poultry and agricultural projects are now functioning throughout the country. The products of these projects play a significant role in the growth of national economy.

Similarly, Central Department for Development of Private Investment was set up in 1987 under the Council of Ministers to improve the growth of industries in the country.

As a result of the proposals made by this department, the revision of the law on private investment, model charter of joint stock companies, regulations for the establishment of the departments for private sector in the ministries and departments of the Republic of Afghanistan, procedure on the attraction of the private investment in cultivating the virgin lands, regulation of the standing commission of the Council of Ministers on domestic and foreign private investments and procedure for the exemption of taxes were endorsed by the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan.

The nationwide conference of the national entrepreneurs which was on April 1988, determined the main directions of the tasks of the national entrepreneurs, under the present conditions of the country. The national entrepreneurs have shown their further interest in this economic

sphere. For example, the national entrepreneurs after the convening of this conference, have invested Afs. 14.018 billion in 322 projects. Out of them, 85 projects are now functioning throughout the country.

On the basis of the regulation of domestic and foreign investments, the following facilities have recently been envisaged for the industrial institutions of the private sectors:

- Exemption from income tax and commercial sale-tax for not less than three years in the capital and for not less than three years in the provinces considering the location of the project, in both cases it shall not exceed six years.
- Provision of facilities in payment of custom duty on import of machinery, spare parts, equipment, and raw material of private production institutions.
- Exemption from customs duty on exports of products of private enterprises.

Lots of facilities have also been provided by the state for the private entrepreneurs in establishing commercial and social services institutions including construction of commercial and dwelling quarters and stores and markets deserves.

Similarly the state provides assistance to the private sector in training skilled workers.

Tractors, Seeds Given To Peasants
46000089b *Kabul THE KABUL TIMES in English*
6 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] Aibak, Jan. 5, (BIA)—During the current year, 20 units of agricultural tractors with a cost of more than 20 million and 37 thousand Afghanis have been distributed as loans to individual peasants and agr. cooperatives of Samangan province.

A source of Samangan Agricultural Development bank told BIA correspondent in the Arbak city, that likewise during that time an amount of 84 tones [as published] of improved wheat seeds and chemical fertilizers and more than Afs 130 thousand have been given as loan to individual peasants and agricultural and cattle breeding cooperatives of Samangan province. Distribution of the chemical fertilizer and agricultural machinery and equipment to peasants continues.

Water Wells Sunk in Herat
46000089a *Kabul THE KABUL TIMES in English*
4 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] To supply more drinking water, 15 deep and ordinary wells have been sunken and 92 subterranean canals cleaned to supply permanent water to an area of 1,849 hectares of land in Enjil, Gozara and Shinadand

districts of Herat province. Similarly, in order to provide transportation facilities for the people of Enjil, a 7-km long road has been levelled and 10 small bridges constructed.

More Than 28,000 Students Enrolled in Kabul Schools

46000088c Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
11 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] More than 28,000 students have been continuing their studies in Kabul province during the current Afghan year. Similarly, a number of schools that had been damaged by extremist groups have been built and put into operation with the cooperation, of people preparing the ground for education of more than 10,000 students.

In the Kabul province, teaching is conducted by more than 900 teachers.

Campaign Against Illiteracy Continues

46000088b Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
5 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] Kabul, Jan. 4 (BIA)—Nearly 1,400 literacy learners are organised in 100 literacy courses in the units and detachments of Herat Infantry Forces.

Teaching in the courses are being conducted voluntarily, by 100 teachers and literate soldiers of the forces. So far over 140 illiterates learnt reading and writing and literacy certificates were given to them.

According to another report 633 literacy courses with a strength of 13,670 learners are functioning in 43 administrative units and villages of Kabul province.

Quoting a spokesman the BIA reports that 2,775 illiterate housewives and peasants are attending the courses taught by 236 teachers.

During this year 247 literacy courses organising 4,414 learners were newly set up. 2870 persons have graduated from the courses, most of them have joined functional literacy classes and worker's complementary schools to further continue their studies.

Several Schools Repaired

46000088a Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
4 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] Kabul, Jan. 3, (BIA)—During the current Afghan year, ten schools have been repaired with the cooperation of pupils, teachers, inhabitants and mandatory institutions in Kabul and seven other buildings have been repaired free of charge by the inhabitants and placed at the disposal of the students. As a result of this cooperation over Afs. 1,200,000 has been saved by the government.

A related source said that, one of the inhabitants in Sahak village of Bagrami district also granted five jeribs of land freely for building schools in Kabul.

In addition, 720 desks and chairs of the schools have been repaired by the mandatory institutions.

BANGLADESH

New Foreign Minister Talks to Press

46001237 Dhaka *THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER*
in English 20 Dec 88 p 1

[Excerpt] Foreign Minister Anisul Islam Mahmud on Monday identified water issue as the major irritant between Dhaka and Delhi and hoped a solution of the problem could take a shape by next year, reports BSS.

The Minister was addressing a Press briefing in Dhaka on Monday, the first-ever since he assumed office.

The Foreign Minister explained that regional cooperation was necessary for flood control and effective water management but added that setting up of different bilateral bodies like the Task Forces was also necessary to generate multiple bilateralism.

Asked about the Indo-Bangladesh Foreign Ministerial level Joint Economic Commission, which has not met for a long time, he said two countries would discuss on the revival of the same.

About the repatriation of Chakma refugees from India and about situation in the region, Mr Mahmud said two Governments were in touch on the issue and there were forward movements. He mentioned of the setting up of the high-powered National Committee on the Chittagong Hill Tracts and said the committee had done a lot of work.

Asked about the "Swadhin Bangabhumi" movement in some places of the country, the Foreign Minister said that the President had made explicit statement on the subject. He also categorically denied any influx of people from Bangladesh to India when a questioner drew his attention to an All-India radio report on this regard.

Visit to USSR Again Delayed

Mr Mahmud informed newsmen that his proposed visit to the Soviet Union would take place after two Government fix up the dates. The visit was scheduled for early next month but would not be delayed, evidently for the earthquake in that country, he said.

About the working of the Foreign Ministry, Mr Mahmud said the Ministry was working hard to discharge its objectives.

The Foreign Minister laid stress on the countries cooperative ties with traditional friendly and donor nations and said his Ministry would work harder with a view to improve aid and trade climate. He described country's foreign policy as successful and said "the elevation of the former Foreign Ministers to the post of the United Nations General Assembly in itself is the testimony of the success of the foreign policy."

Details of Bangladesh-PRC Memorandum of Understanding
46001234 Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 8 Dec 88 pp 1, 10

[Text] The fourth session of the Bangladesh-China Joint Commission concluded in Dhaka on Wednesday discussing ways and means of further promoting and developing bilateral cooperation between the two countries, reports BSS.

The two sides at the session held in an atmosphere of "cordiality and understanding" reviewed the progress achieved in trade, economic and technical assistance, economic cooperation for mutual benefit, scientific and technical cooperation as well as cooperation of shipping between the two countries since the third session of the commission held last year.

Both the sides expressed satisfaction over the progress achieved so far, official sources said.

A Memorandum Of Understanding (MOU) was signed between the two sides on the deliberations and decisions arrived in course of the meeting at the concluding session held at the NEC building.

The MOU was signed by leader of the Chinese delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, Mr Lu Xuejian, and leader of the Bangladesh delegation and Secretary of the External Resources Division, Mr Enam Ahmed Chowdhury, on behalf of their respective countries.

A protocol regarding BMRE (balancing, modernisation, renovation and expansion) of Renewick and Company and a letter of exchange providing Chinese assistance of 3.82 million RMBY equivalent to Taka 3.82 crore to meet part of the local cost financing of the Rupganj North water conservancy project were also signed.

Both the sides during the four-day session reviewed the progress of projects financed with Chinese assistance and noted with satisfaction that the construction work of the Friendship Bridge over the River Buriganga has been making a rapid progress and is expected to be completed within the first quarter of next year to be ready for use.

Bangladesh side proposed some projects for implementation under Chinese assistance which included Upazila Health Complex, supply of machinery and equipment

for BSCIC, rehabilitation and modernisation of Rajshahi silk factory, urea fertilizer project under buy back arrangement and Kushiara and Mahananda Bridge.

Both the sides agreed to continue to make joint efforts to ensure exchange of ideas on the proper utilization of the balance of Chinese loans on the above mentioned projects.

On scientific and technical cooperation, both the sides were satisfied to see that since the last session of the Commission the two governments had made encouraging progress in the field of scientific and technical cooperation in Bangladesh.

Both the sides agreed that their governments would give all possible assistance to the approved Sino-Bangladesh joint ventures for their early implementation.

Bangladesh side proposed to establish joint venture collaboration with China in the production of electric motors, handtools, bicycle parts and components, transformer and industrial switch gear, belt and conveyer belt among others.

The Chinese side noted the proposal and agreed to identify relevant companies in China which would be in a position to undertake the projects and to inform Ministry of Industries of Bangladesh for taking necessary action.

Both the sides will continue to explore the possibility of setting up a fertilizer factory by way of compensation trade.

The Commission also appreciated the positive development in the discussion between Civil Aviation authorities of the two countries held in August this year and expressed the hope for an early start of operation of flights between the two countries.

They also reviewed and expressed points of view on the issue of cargo sharing and relative problems and held that this could further be discussed by the two concerned corporations with a view to amicably implementing the shipping agreement between the two countries.

Bangladesh side proposed to acquire more ocean-going vessels, preferably container and bulk carrier type of vessels from the People's Republic of China and requested the Chinese side to provide assistance in this respect.

The bilateral trade also came up for review in the Commission meeting. Bangladesh side expressed concern over the large accumulated as well as current imbalance of trade against Bangladesh under both cash and barter and requested that the Chinese side increase its imports from Bangladesh to reduce the trade deficit.

The Chinese side took note of the problem and stated that it had been taking and would take further measures for the increase of import from Bangladesh. It expressed the hope that Bangladesh would provide more commodities which could meet the needs of China.

Both the sides discussed the implementation of the relevant barter protocol signed in July, 1988 between China and Bangladesh and agreed to urge their respective corporations to pay closer attention to the implementation of the protocol. They believed that through their common efforts the relevant barter protocol would be smoothly implemented.

The two sides agreed to hold the next session of the Commission in Beijing in 1989 on the dates to be mutually agreed upon.

INDIA

Reaction to, Reportage on Gorbachev Visit

Gandhi Remarks in Rajya Sabha
46001231 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
22 Nov 88 pp 1, 7

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 21—India's relations with the Soviet Union and China, or Sino-Soviet relations for that matter, were not directly linked to each other, the Prime Minister declared today. Relations between any two of those countries were "purely exclusive".

There was "no question of one being tied to the other, or at the cost of the other" Mr Rajiv Gandhi told the Rajya Sabha when replying to clarifications sought by members on a statement he made in both Houses on the recent visit of Mr Gorbachev.

Allaying apprehensions that improved Sino-Soviet relations would reduce India's position in Soviet perceptions, Mr Gandhi said that China was "unimportant" as far as the ties between the two countries were concerned. Rejecting the view that there had been any "scaling down", he maintained that the upswing would continue.

Asked about reports in a section of the Press that there have been differences over China between him and Mr Gorbachev, Mr Gandhi replied that this was "one more case where you don't have to believe everything the newspapers say".

The Prime Minister's statement detailed the various agreements signed with the Soviet Union during the last few days, the discussions he had with Mr Gorbachev, and expressed much optimism for the future of the wide-ranging links and cooperative efforts.

The statement had made no reference to China, he said, because during their nine hours of talks many issues had been covered and it was not possible to include everything in a statement of reasonable length.

There had been no specific discussions on the border issue, because there was nothing common between the Indian and Soviet positions regarding their borders with China. The discussion was more general.

Afghanistan

The Prime Minister said that India and the Soviet Union held a common view regarding the situation in Afghanistan, and both were in favour of "complete implementation" of the Geneva accords.

Part of the accord was an end to the supply of weapons from Pakistan to the Afghan Mujahedin—and that had not happened, Mr Gandhi said. In fact unconfirmed reports spoke of more direct assistance to the Mujahedin recently.

"Accords have two sides" Mr Gandhi said "you cannot say implement one part only". It was his personal view—he did not know what position the Soviet Union would take—that one side should not implement its part of the accord if the other did not do its bit too.

That observation of the Prime Minister was in direct response to the query from Mr Subramaniam Swamy (J) about whether the Soviets would complete their troop pull-out from Afghanistan by February 15, as laid down in the Geneva accord.

Mr Gandhi said that several of the agreements that were signed had been prefixed with references to the Indo-Soviet Treaty on Peace and Friendship. This, too, was in response to Mr Swamy who asked if that treaty would be automatically renewed in 1991. The Janata member was of the view that the treaty had been concluded as a safeguard of sorts against China, and wondered if it would remain valid since Sino-Soviet relations were changing.

N-Power

The Prime Minister also discussed the question of nuclear power plants, which had exercised some of the members. India saw no difference in signing an agreement for a nuclear plant with one for a thermal plant—it was viewed as part of the energy sector.

The Indian nuclear programme would not be diluted in any way by entering into agreements for setting up power stations. Regarding safeguards, India's position was that those of the International Atomic Energy Agency could not be "applied universally" to our plants.

Mr Gandhi took pains to assure the members that nuclear power plants did not constitute any risk. There was no danger of leakage, many safeguards had been built in. This matter had been studied in depth, and even

contingency plans—such as evacuation of people from the vicinity of a plant 8 had been tried out. He had been told that a normal thermal station emitted more radiation than a nuclear plant.

Reports from anti-nuclear groups had been received, and were being considered, the Prime Minister said. He had asked some of those groups for more detailed information, so that corrective measures could be taken if necessary.

On a wider issue, Mr Gandhi said that India had given nobody any kind of an assurance on its willingness to sign a new version of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

The Prime Minister said that nuclear disarmament had figured in his talks with Mr Gorbachev and it was decided to "keep in touch" over the action plan which India had presented to the U.N. General Assembly's special session on disarmament.

Mr Gandhi agreed with Mr Samar Mukherjee (CPI-M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] that there should be a wider debate on the emerging relations between India, China, and the Soviet Union and said that it could be conducted during the current session of Parliament.

Trade

The Prime Minister was confident that the decision to increase Indo-Soviet trade two and a half times would bear fruit before the target date of 1992. Some problems had arisen as a result of perestroika and India's modernization efforts. They were being sorted out. An Indian trade centre was being contemplated in the Soviet Union to serve as a focal point.

Cooperation economic planning had been discussed. India was embarking on its Eighth Plan and the Soviet Union on its 13th, and "it was time for us to match production process with what the Soviet Union would require—towards a higher level of trade."

Statement

The Prime Minister began his statement by noting that Mr Gorbachev's visit to India was "a reaffirmation of the high regard which the Soviet Government and people have for the values which motivated our freedom struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and for the vision of a strong and self-reliant India which Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi espoused".

The visit provided, Mr Gandhi said, yet another opportunity for an exchange of views on the regional and international issues. "We both agreed that since my last meeting with him in July 1987, there has been a marked reduction in the tensions and suspicions which had bedevilled the world in the recent past. The signing of the INF Treaty, the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the cessation of hostilities in the Iran-Iraq war and the

progress towards finding negotiated settlements to issues in south-east Asia and southern Africa, are all manifestations of a new era emerging in international relations".

The Soviet Union, he added, "Highly appreciates India's active and constructive role in the nonaligned movement and our efforts to promote peace, disarmament and development."

On Afghanistan, Mr Gandhi said that Mr Gorbachev informed him that while the Soviet Union supported the establishment of a broad-based Government in Afghanistan, it was concerned at the continuing violations of the Geneva accords.

Also, during the visit, there was a review of India's bilateral relations with the Soviet Union, which "have been growing from strength to strength", and particularly the progress achieved in implementing the various decisions and agreements arrived at in the past meetings.

Mr Gandhi added: "Our friendship with the Soviet Union has stood the test of time.

'Sources' On Differences

46001231 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
22 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by Tushar Bhatt: "India, Soviet Union Differ on Policy Toward China"]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 21: India and the Soviet Union differ in their assessment of the thrust of Chinese policies in the global context in general and vis-a-vis India in particular.

Informed sources gathered this impression from the lack of any reference whatsoever to China in the joint statement signed here yesterday by the Soviet President, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev and the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

The silence on China follows Mr Gorbachev's near-euphoric public remark that good relations between India, the Soviet Union and China are a must for peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole.

The 10-page joint statement, however, not only failed to reiterate this, but did not touch upon China at all, giving rise to the impression that the two countries did not see eye-to-eye on the issue.

Normally, such an omission would not be regarded with much gravity, but coming a month before Mr Rajiv Gandhi's proposed visit to China, the first by an Indian Prime Minister in 34 years, it is being seen as a telling silence by political and diplomatic sources.

These sources pointed out that the two leaders had prolonged talks without aides and it was unlikely that the China visit was not touched upon. They felt the external affairs minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, and his Soviet counterpart, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, were bound to have discussed the issue during their talks with each other.

The sources said it was obvious that the Indian side did not share the Soviet Union's "over-optimistic" view of the developments in China and its international policy. The Soviet perception was said to be based on the logic that having undertaken modernisation programmes in a big way, China would be in no mood to continue pursuing policies of confrontation with countries like India.

Mr Gorbachev, who has been forcefully advancing his plan for security in the Asia-Pacific region, appeared to be interested in an understanding between his country, China and India that would ensure a promise to abjure the use of force. However, prior to any direct contact between India and China and the projected summit between the Chinese and Soviet leaders, this remained a promising premise on which to build further relations. The sources said it was probably because of this that no mention of it was made in the joint statement.

Notwithstanding this, however, there is every reason for India to derive satisfaction from Mr Gorbachev's trip to Delhi as it led to half a dozen agreements bearing on deepening of economic, technological and cultural ties. The Soviet Union has promised to give a credit of 3.2 billion roubles, the largest single credit extended to this country, and help in building vital installations, like giant nuclear plants and much-needed power projects.

The visit has, thus, given a new impetus to Indo-Soviet relations, which is no small gain on the eve of the formulation of the country's Eighth five-year Plan. Mr Gorbachev himself said that as a result of the visit, the two countries had reached a new level of cooperation.

The sources pointed out that the Soviet willingness to be of greater help to India in the economic and technological fields should not be underestimated. It was the Soviet Union which had assiduously helped India in its drive for increased self-reliance over the years.

Mr Gorbachev repeatedly emphasised that the Soviet Union's esteem for India was as high as ever and there was no question of their cooling off towards India, nor of downgrading its importance. In the wake of perestroika and glasnost, there have been a spate of reports about subtle changes in the Soviet Union's international relations and of India losing its pre-eminence in the eyes of that country.

During his talks and in public, Mr Gorbachev took pains to refute this impression, and his persistence in doing so left his Indian hosts immensely pleased.

In other spheres of international relations, the countries have a closer identity of views. The two leaders reaffirmed their commitment to the 1986 Delhi Declaration issued during Mr Gorbachev's visit to India two years ago. He and Mr Gandhi said the declaration had helped find new ways to promote global security.

The two were at their most forthright in denouncing the United States and Pakistan violation of the Geneva accord on Afghanistan. They wanted the United Nations to ensure implementation of the UN General Assembly resolution.

The two countries also agreed on the need for international control on emerging technologies with military potential.

CPI Statement

46001231 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
23 Nov 88 p 5

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 22: The central secretariat of the CPI [Communist Party of India] today welcomed the Indo-Soviet joint statement and the various agreements signed by the two countries during Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's recent visit to New Delhi.

A CPI statement noted that "in certain circles inimical to Indo-Soviet friendship, attempts were made to sow doubts about Indo-Soviet friendship in the context of new possibilities for development of Sino-Soviet relations."

It added that Mr Gorbachev had "scotched the mischief by his forthright statements on the question during his India visit." The CPI welcomed his statement because it considered that "improvement in Sino-Soviet relations is not contradictory to growing Indo-Soviet friendship. In fact, one helps the other."

The CPI said, "Friendship between India, China and the Soviet Union will be of crucial importance in the struggle for peace and for solving many problems that the world faces today."

Envoy on Speculation

46001231 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
24 Nov 88 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 23 (PTI): Speculative reports in a section of the Western, Japanese and Indian media had forced the Soviet President, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, to reiterate that his country was not changing its priorities or becoming cool towards India.

The Soviet leader, in fact, wanted to utilise most of his 49-hour stay in India for a direct "tete-a-tete" with the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, according to Mr T. N. Kaul, India's ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Mr Kaul told PTI that the speculations in the media had started after the Soviet leader had declined to give an interview to Doordarshan on the eve of his visit and to hold a press conference at the end of his visit, as in the case of his last visit two years ago.

He said the Western media had speculated that the Soviet leader had "nothing to say" and the Soviet Union was changing its priorities following its inclination to normalise relations with the United States and China.

The ambassador said he had personally asked the Soviet leader on November 7 why he was not holding the Press conference or giving the interview which could lead to unnecessary speculations. Mr Gorbachev had told him that during his visit to India he would make three important statements, including one at his banquet speech which would set at rest the speculations and "the Press can then have plenty of matter."

Mr Kaul pointed out that shortly before his departure President Gorbachev did spend about 10 minutes talking to the Press and TV. He said the Soviet leader had a tight schedule and mainly wanted discussion with Mr Gandhi.

The two leaders had nine hours of "a very intimate, friendly and warm exchange of views covering bilateral and international issues including Afghanistan, Kampuchea, the forthcoming visit of Mr Gandhi to China and the Soviet leader's visit to the United Nations".

"There was a broad agreement and close identity of views on practically all matters including the political thinking of Mr Gorbachev who wants to avoid military confrontations and resolve outstanding issues through dialogue," the ambassador said.

He said on the bilateral front, the volume of credit (amounting to over Rs 5,300 crores) for nuclear, thermal and hydel projects and cooperation in space were ample proof of the "desire of both sides to further strengthen economic and commercial relations and explore concrete fields for application of science and technology in which both countries had reached a certain level of progress."

attained a "new level" of harmony and mutual understanding. This is further borne out by the five agreements on economic and trade cooperation signed by the two governments on the occasion of the Soviet leader's visit. All the same there is something oddly defensive about the official comments on the current state of their bilateral ties and their approach to the outside world. One reason for this could well be the absence of detail regarding the discussions held by the two leaders. To say, as India's spokesman has done, that Pakistan, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Sri Lanka and Maldives "figured prominently in the political dialogue" is, in a manner of speaking, to state the obvious. It does not reveal the extent to which the two countries hold similar perceptions on these issues. The exception is Afghanistan where the two sides concurred with the view that the "obstructionist" policies of "certain forces" (read the United States and Pakistan) were violating the Geneva accord. But even this and subsequent remarks on Afghanistan do not offer much insight into how they propose to ensure that that country is not overrun by more bloodshed and anarchy. The call to the U.N. secretary-general to ensure the implementation of the accord appears to be no more than a pious and none-too-convincing a hope.

At least two other factors account for scepticism about the euphoria generated by President Gorbachev's visit. One relates to the Sino-Soviet *rapprochement*. On this issue Mr Gorbachev's references to the Indo-Soviet treaty and the Delhi Declaration cannot allay Indian fears that New Delhi will figure less prominently in the Soviet scheme of things than Beijing. As it is, this country has not been overly enthusiastic about the Soviet leader's peace and security initiatives for the Asia-Pacific region announced in his two major speeches in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk. Nor can it be altogether pleased with Mr Gorbachev's discretion on another issue of vital interest to it—Moscow's stand on India's refusal to sign the non-proliferation treaty. New Delhi has reason to worry that in its determination to mend its fences with the United States the two superpowers may well make common cause to make it fall in line with the NPT along with Pakistan. Add to all this President Gorbachev's quite unexpected reference to "speculations" which "go as far as saying that the Soviet Union is changing its priorities, even becoming cool towards India." The need for such a statement is difficult to explain given the fact that no responsible person in this country has indulged in such "speculations". The only possible inference one can draw from the remark at this stage is that it may be related to some apprehensions privately voiced by those close to the ruling party regarding favourable comments made in the Soviet media about the united opposition front that is emerging to challenge the Congress in the next election. All this, however, is only to state that in its dealings with the outside world New Delhi has to be far more alert than it has been so far to the radical shifts in Soviet foreign policy. Indo-Soviet relations are on a sound footing; but their old basis cannot be taken for granted, as argued in the adjoining columns. New Delhi will have to work out

Skepticism About 'Euphoria'

46001231 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
22 Nov 88 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text] President Gorbachev and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi have hailed the outcome of their summit meeting in exuberant terms. On a surface view, the exuberance does not appear to be misplaced. Their public utterances, as well as their joint statement, leave little room for doubt that Indo-Soviet relations have indeed

its own equations with its neighbours, especially China, and with the United States. Until then President Gorbachev's "new thinking" will appear to be a dangerous mix of self-interest and vague paternalism. The two are not at all incompatible with each other.

Qualitative Shift

46001231 Madras *THE HINDU* in English
21 Nov 88 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Nov 20. The just concluded visit of the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, his strong statements to the contrary notwithstanding, mark a qualitative shift in Indo-Soviet relations, though not of an unfriendly nature. However, the recent Gandhi-Gorbachev summit has been remarkable for its businesslike and constructive approach and there is sufficient indication that both sides are attempting to maintain the tempo of their relationship through a period of transition.

The development is an inevitable consequence of the major restructuring of the Soviet Union's way of looking at the world, as well as a less perceptible but definite change in the manner in which Mr Raji Gandhi has handled foreign relations. The primary drive of course comes from the feeling of the Gorbachev leadership that the Soviet Union in the previous decades overextended itself and overstressed its military potential in a bid to maintain a world-power status. The Gorbachev era's 'new thinking' stresses the 'balance of interests' in defining the Soviet Union's relations with any country or region. It is breaking away from the 'zero-sum game' type of Cold War thinking that dominated the previous decades and is willing to concede that it does not have exclusive interests in every region including Eastern Europe or, for that matter, India.

Shadow-Boxing

Some of these ideas, put forward as catchwords and sounding like slogans, have not been sufficiently heeded by South Block which now feels that the Soviets are somehow becoming cooler towards India. This has resulted in a sort of shadow-boxing between Soviet and Indian officials with regard to Indo-Soviet relations and their meaning. The fact of the matter is that Mr Gorbachev wants to make the Soviet Union like any other country in the world and not an alternative power centre. Towards this end he has moved mightily to still the Soviet-American conflict and break the logjam in Soviet-West European and Sino-Soviet relations. A similar thrust towards Japan cannot be too far off.

In this scheme of things it is inevitable that when Soviet relations with countries towards whom it was previously cool improves, there will be a relative decline in the importance of India to the Soviet Union. A Soviet move towards a democratically elected government in Pakistan, by no means a remote prospect would bring out South Block's paranoia to its fullest. As it is, the swift

rapprochement between the USSR and China is being watched with some unease as India seeks to grapple with its own problems with China. Probably as a sop to these feelings, the Rajiv-Gorbachev joint statement today refers to the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Cooperation and Friendship, a treaty signed by India with clear security-related goals in 1971.

Afghan Turmoil

From the Soviet side the principal headache in South Asia today is Afghanistan. This was made clear in the meetings between Indian and Soviet officials. While there is a congruence of interests between India and the Soviet Union in ensuring that a non-aligned and peaceful Afghanistan emerges when the embers of conflict cool, the major problem is the fact that far from cooling the conflict seems to be hotting up even as the deadline for the pullout of the Soviet troops from there nears. Mr Gorbachev, who has staked a major part of his foreign policy in the Afghan pull out, may not be deflected from his path but cautioning tones are now audible from both the Soviet and Indian officialdom who see the possible collapse of the pro-Soviet set up and the emergence of a pro-Pakistani fundamentalist regime there as having far reaching consequences for the region. However, the Soviet Union and more so India, have few viable policy options, though they are gamely hanging on.

Leaving aside the impact of any such change, which is being pushed both by Mr Gandhi and Mr Gorbachev, there are permanent interests that both the USSR and India have in being good friends. The principal one, stressed by Mr Gorbachev's second visit is economic benefit that the two countries can obtain from their interaction. The Soviet Union offers India a large and varied market for its products, not just traditional items but machinery and engineering goods. India for its part offers the Soviet Union an important technological reservoir of skills especially in the area of electronics and computer software for restructuring its economy. In addition, India is also a market for a variety of Soviet products such as aeroplanes, computer hardware, machine tools, railway equipment, specialised ships and ship-manufacturing technologies.

India Tardy

The Soviets have for some time felt that the Indian side has been tardy in responding to their offers in the bilateral trade and economic sectors. They came prepared this time to push the Indian side to the awareness that things were changing in the Soviet Union and if India displayed tardiness, they could find themselves out in the cold. The thrust of Soviet policy is, as Mr Gorbachev himself put it, to shift the economic interaction between the two countries from trade based on exchange of commodities to industrial cooperation and joint ventures and joint development of advanced technologies.

The Soviet side has been stark in appreciating its own weaknesses. It is not clear whether the Indian side has done a like amount of introspection. The Soviets believe that they do not lag in scientific and technological skills—witness the launch of the Buran shuttle, they point out. However, they feel their problem is managerial and organisational. This area itself presents an area of opportunity. The new encouragement to joint ventures, and private investment opens up a vast area of opportunity which of course does have its pitfalls. However there is an enormous amount of goodwill and sheer experience of Indian and Soviet interaction to give Indian entrepreneurs the inside track. One area that needs to be cleared up both with regard to the coming cooperation ventures and existing arrangements is as to what will be the outcome of the relationship with the rouble going convertible. Getting a rouble 3.2 billions credit would appear fine today, but what would be the impact in terms of a convertible rouble?

Paper Expresses Concern at Kashmir Situation
BK2202095489 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English
15 Feb 89 p 8

[Editorial: "Downhill in Kashmir"]

[Text] It should be clear to all except those who choose to be deliberately somnolent that the situation in Kashmir is close to getting out of hand. The anti-national elements are fully to the fore and getting bolder and more defiant by the day—and apparently more numerous. Relatively peaceful protests like bandhs [strikes—FBIS] or processions instigated or indulged in by them in the past are increasingly giving way to violence and arson. Any occasion, any excuse is now good enough to start a riot, or at least a situation that puts the police on tenterhooks. On Republic Day or Independence Day, for instance, some groups of people would raise anti-India slogans, or briefly wave the Pakistani flag, before running away into the city's lanes and by-lanes. This time there was an open call for Srinagar bandh.

The latest riot is even more illustrative. It was triggered by a 500-strong mob protesting against the publication of a book written in England—publication not in India where it has been banned but in Britain and the United States!—and the firing on similar protesters—again, not in India but in Pakistan! The protesters braved lathi-charge and tear-gas and hurled stones and petrol bombs at the police. Next time, it may be something more lethal, thanks to modern arms which seem now to be available on call to one and all. Thanks also to the rise of a new grouping of young men which, apparently owing allegiance to no established party or organisation, has a one-point mission: to create trouble and spread anti-Farooq and anti-India sentiment in the valley.

None of this is unknown to the authorities, both in Srinagar and in Delhi. And yet, no one seems overly bothered about it, or else the situation would not have been allowed to deteriorate so fast and so much in recent

months. Dr Farooq Abdullah in particular seems to be at his wit's end, to put a sympathetic construction on his inaction. True, now and then he lashes out in various directions—at his own administration, at fellow politicians in the State, at the Centre, even at shopkeepers (for not defying the bandh call). It was not long ago that he threatened to hang corrupt officials and skin alive anti-national elements. As it happens, both are prospering while the Chief Minister periodically attends various sundry matters outside the State.

It would be an exaggeration to say that the administration has collapsed. But it would be an understatement to say that it is demoralised—largely because of the state of political leadership: a leadership at odds with itself, working at cross-purposes but mostly busy in petty politicking. This spectacle has also demoralised, if not alienated, the ruling party cadres, particularly the National Conference [NC] workers who in the past used to pre-empt the designs of secessionist or counter them in their mischievous actions, and certainly supplement the security forces in keeping the ugly situation under control.

Rather than go on facing each situation as it arises, and generally watch the situation deteriorate even further, Dr Abdullah should realise how time is galloping past. He has to come down firmly and severely on the troublemakers. But simultaneously he must revive his party and re-imbue in the NC workers their traditional values. Secessionist and other anti-national activities are certainly a security problem, but they are also a political problem. The law and order approach, especially a half-hearted one, will not do. The political aspect of the challenge has to be indentified and countered.

PAKISTAN

PPP Said Disorganized
46000101d Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
2 Feb 89 p 6

[Article by Zaman Khan]

[Text] Faisalabad, 1 Feb—Will Ms Benazir Bhutto shake up the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] organisation Punjab after the results of the by-election? This is the question that is being asked by the political observers very frequently these days.

Pakistan Peoples Party lost both NA-57 and 62 because of inner conflicts besides other reasons. Faisalabad used to be the strong hold of PPP. It won all national and provincial seats in 1970 and 77. But in the recent general elections it won 6 out of 8 National Assembly seats. The election on NA-62 could not be held due to a candidate's death. The victory of a Jamaat-e-Islami candidate from city's provincial seat came as great surprise. People say IJI won because of the indifference of PPP local bosses including the MNA of the area.

The recently held by-elections in NA-57 and 62 gave an opportunity to PPP to improve its position. But it failed again because of party politics.

The awarding of ticket to Ch. Khurshid Ahmad in NA-57 in place of Rana Mohammad Aslam further strengthened the position of the Rajput biradari in this constituency. It is also being said that the PPP high command asked Rana Aslam to pay Rs six lakh if he wanted the party ticket. PPP decided to keep Ch. Latif Randhava, advocate, in NA-62 who had no chance in a straight fight with IJI's Ghulam Mustafa Bajwa and lost by a margin of about 10,000 votes.

It is high time that PPP high command had a serious view of its weaknesses. The question that bothers one is whether the present PPP leadership in the Punjab is in a position to out manoeuvre IJI's [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] Nawaz Sharif. PPP committed a lot of mistakes and further made a mess by making Mehr Abdul Rashid, MNA [Member of National Assembly], Divisional president of PPP in charge of NA-57. It chose Ahmad Saeed Awan MNA to look after NA-62. Both these gentlemen had nothing to do with these constituencies. Both the constituencies were rural, while the gentlemen were city men. They had no influence in these constituencies.

The question arises as to why Ch. Umer Daraz district president, or Capt Nisar Akbar Khan, MNA (both being Rajputs) were not given the responsibility in a predominantly Rajput constituency. It is learnt that in a party meeting, in the presence of Rana Shaukat Mehmud, Punjab President, the local party workers accused Mehr Abdul Rashid of secretly supporting the candidate of his biradari Mian Zahid Sarfraz in NA-57. While NA-62 was purely a 'Jat' constituency why then a 'Jat' Minister or MNA was not made in charge of it and or why the PPP did not put in a stronger candidate in place of Latif Randhawa. It is also worth mentioning that Ch. Pervez Ellahi, a Punjab Minister, remained in Faisalabad throughout the election campaign. He spent more than a month here.

Ms Benazir Bhutto addressed public meetings everywhere in other constituencies during the by-elections but why did the organisers of her visit make sure that the party workers be kept away from her. Since it was Ms. Bhutto's first visit to the city, therefore the party workers should have been given the opportunity to meet their leader.

There is no denying the fact that PPP, overall secured more votes than IJI in Punjab as claimed by Ch. Aitzaz Ahsan, Federal Minister for Interior. But since PPP did not improve its previous position in the province the IJI was able to defend its seat. Which gave IJI a psychological boost.

The centre and the Punjab tussle was also evident during the by-elections. The common man has nothing to do with the centre in day-to-day dealings. It was observed that during the meetings of Ministers both Federal and Provincial people would give dozens of applications and

they would expect the order then and there. The province has the powers to provide roads, schools, sewerage, local administration, police, and other day-to-day affairs and the IJI did more best use of these powers during the by-elections. The centre has power, gas and telephones. Barring the electricity the people in the rural areas are not bothered about the centre.

PPP must ask itself, can it win the next general elections in Punjab with the present party organisation and the IJI power. Political observers say it must give serious thought to party reorganisation and restore its old image. PPP is lucky that it has an army of dedicated and committed workers but they must be reorientated. It must have discipline. It is also suggested that PPP should hold party elections and develop consensus leadership on all levels. It should hold party conventions at every level and finally it should follow the tradition of holding national party conventions. Many feel it may be asking too much from PPP which in the first place, was never a party in the real sense of the word.

Zia's Son Interviewed, Speaks Out Against Bhutto
46000087 *Calcutta SUNDAY in English*
15-21 Jan 89 pp 17-18

[Interview with Izazul Haq, eldest son of General Zia-ul Haq, by Rajiv Shukla]

[Text] The plane crash which led to Gen Zia-ul Haq's sudden death has left a void in the hearts of his family members. His two sons, Izazul and Anwarul, have yet to get over the traumatic event that overtook their lives on 17 August, 1988. Izazul Haq, a very senior official in the Bank of America in Bahrain, took an active part in the election campaign and has been asked by veteran opposition politicians like Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Mohammed Khan Junejo to join Pakistani politics. In this interview, Izazul Haq speaks, for the first time, about his father's death.

[SUNDAY] When your father General Zia died, where were you?

[Izazul Haq] I was in Toronto, Canada. As soon as I got the news, I left for Rawalpindi. On 20 August, when my father was buried I was at his grave.

[SUNDAY] There is a lot of speculation about the plane crash in which Gen Zia died. While some people say that it was the result of a conspiracy, others point out that the aircraft developed some technical problems. What do you think?

[Izazul Haq] The reports which appeared after the crash along with those put out by the Pakistan government said that the crash had been the result of a sabotage. Initially, however, the American government said that there was a mechanical problem. Later, it agreed—reluctantly—with the Pakistan government that there

was sabotage. There are still some people in the United States who claim that the plane crashed due to some mechanical problem and that it was not a sabotage. In fact, these people have been exerting pressure on others to say that it was a mechanical defect that brought the plane down. In the parts of the report which have come to me, it has been stated that the crash was the result of a sabotage, nothing else. Those who were in power at that time in Pakistan also started saying that it was sabotage. It should be remembered that it was a VVIP flight. If nothing else, the aircraft must have been well guarded and taken care of. There could be no chance of a mechanical defect occurring.

[SUNDAY] You believe in the sabotage theory, then?

[Izazul Haq] Absolutely. One hundred percent. I believe that other than sabotage, nothing else could have happened. Soon after the tragedy, we said that it was the result of a pre-planned move. The reports which came later only proved our contention.

[SUNDAY] Which is this lobby in the United States which keeps on harping on the mechanical defect theory?

[Izazul Haq] I have not heard about this (mechanical defect) theory in Pakistan but in the United States. (pause, and then hurriedly) I have received news from two sources in the United States. It was a leak from the U.S. State Department. The NEW YORK TIMES published that there was a mechanical defect. Later on when questions were heard regarding the mechanical theory, this lobby (in the United States) started saying that the crash was the result of a mechanical sabotage and that there was no conspiracy involved. (Izazul Haq would not name the American lobby.)

[SUNDAY] You also spoke of filing a suit against the plane's manufacturers?

[Izazul Haq] Yes, I said so. I had no other alternative. The then government in Pakistan did not consider the issue (Gen Zia's death) an important one. The government said that investigating the death of Gen Zia was not on its list of priorities. They even said: "Sabotage is not on our mind." After all this, I had no other alternative. I have not raised a finger to accuse anyone nor have I blamed anyone for the crash. I have only filed a suit according to the law prevailing in the United States that the crash was not the result of a mechanical defect. When it is proved in court that the crash did not happen because of a mechanical defect, but sabotage, investigations will have to be carried out on how the sabotage occurred. Once it is proved that there was sabotage, then I can demand an investigation. After all, why is there no investigation?

[SUNDAY] Who do you think was behind the conspiracy?

[Izazul Haq] Till we come to know what happened, no names can be mentioned. But it is certain that the whole thing was part of a well-formulated plan and that those who took part were an organised lot.

[SUNDAY] Was the conspiracy hatched within the country or outside it?

[Izazul Haq] I cannot say it openly. My lawyer has said that the people were not too fond of General Zia. There was the problem with Afghanistan and Khad (the Afghan secret service) and even India was upset over the Sikh problem. But it is my belief that some people from Pakistan were involved in the conspiracy. It is they who did it. Even if it is assumed that persons from a second country were involved, I am certain they could not have planted the bomb on the plane. The whole operation could not have been successful without the active participation of people from Pakistan.

[SUNDAY] If Pakistanis were involved, then it can be safely assumed that these were not ordinary people: they must have been high-ups in the military or the government?

[Izazul Haq] Absolutely true. These were people who had access to the President's plane and who knew about the President's programme. They knew which plane the President would take, where he would go, when it would take off and what his other programmes were. I have already told you that this was part of a plan conceived by people in high places.

[SUNDAY] Three rumours about this tragedy have been doing the rounds. One is that the Russians are involved, the other is that India is responsible while the third mentions that the Shia Muslim lobby masterminded the crash. What do you think?

[Izazul Haq] It is wrong to blame the Shias. As for the charge that India is responsible, I do not have any proof of India's involvement. India had been upset by the news that Pakistan was helping the Sikhs but there is no basis to this.

The Soviet involvement cannot, however, be totally ruled out. Because the Russians were not too happy with Gen Zia, the presence of the Soviet hand cannot be ruled out. The Soviet Union was angry because of the help the Afghan Mujahideen had been receiving from the Pakistan government for nine years.

[SUNDAY] You say some people from Pakistan were involved. Are these people in league with the present government?

[Izazul Haq] It could be possible but I do not wish to open my mouth now. All I am saying is that the crash should be investigated. If my demand for an investigation is not met, I will take the movement to the streets. I believe more than one person is involved.... The names

of one or two people are being mentioned but that is only to divert the attention of the people. The truth will be known when a thorough investigation is done but the Benazir Bhutto government does not want that. I do not expect anything from this government.

[SUNDAY] Benazir Bhutto said in a press conference that Gen Zia had bargained the good of Pakistan. Were Bhutto alive, Pakistan would have become a nuclear power a long time ago. She has set up a commission to expose Gen Zia's real intentions. What do you have to say?

[Izazul Haq] No one can put down the deeds of Gen Zia. The people know what he has done for Pakistan. How can Benazir Bhutto talk in this way? She has only received 16 percent of the votes. Forty percent of the people cast their votes of which she received only 16 percent. She does not deserve to be a leader of this country. With so few votes to her credit, how can she be a leader? The people will compare the two governments (that of Zia and Benazir Bhutto) and know what the truth is. Gen Zia never projected himself. He did not write a book about himself. Neither did he get someone to write a book about him. Her own position is not very secure. In Punjab, where 50 percent of Pakistan's population lives, her party is not in power. In the Frontier Province, she has managed to form a government. Everyone knows what happened in Baluchistan where the government was toppled within nine days of its formation. Someone should tell her to stop talking and start governing the country.

[SUNDAY] Do you think Benazir Bhutto will be able to rule?

[Izazul Haq] She will face problems in the future.

[SUNDAY] When will you join politics?

[Izazul Haq] The people want me to join politics. During the election campaign, I toured some places and a large number of people came to hear me. Believe me, my visit made a difference to some of the candidates of the opposition alliance; they received more votes than they were supposed to. Take the example of Sialkot. Benazir Bhutto visited the place after me but her candidate lost the seat. I have decided to join politics. But I have yet to take a decision on whether I should form a new party or whether I should join one of the existing ones. I will be quitting my job and returning to Pakistan in two months.

[SUNDAY] Have you already held talks with some people?

[Izazul Haq] I have had talks with the Muslim League people as well as the others. However, I would prefer to join the party which is committed to Pakistan and Islam.

[SUNDAY] Do you think the army will continue to help Benazir Bhutto?

[Izazul Haq] The army will always be under the government. When the army sees that the situation in the country is bad both within and without, it takes over power. This happened in 1977 when the condition was bad. There was civil war. If the situation in the country remains stable, the army will not take over.

[SUNDAY] Have you faced problems from the government?

[Izazul Haq] I have not done anything wrong that I should be troubled. My privileges have all been given to me by the army, not the government. I can stay in this house which has been given to me by the army, for a year. I am constructing a house now and as soon as that is completed, I will move out of here.

Tension Between Punjab, Central Government Said Increasing

46000093c Lahore *VIEWPOINT in English*
26 Jan 89 pp 16-17

[Article by Ashraf Mumtaz]

[Text] Tension between Centre and the Punjab government is mounting steadily and according to the indications available so far, there is no possibility of a "truce" in the foreseeable future.

The friction started when, contrary to the previous schedule, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan nominated Ms Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister before the election of the N.A. [National Assembly] speaker—which was regarded as a litmus test of the majority party. Himself a candidate to the office of Prime Minister, Mr Nawaz Sharif mistook it for the usurpation of his right and since then he has been making statements against the PPP Government, and even the Prime Minister, on one pretext or the other.

Being Ill-Advised

His advisers are telling him that by "arguing" Punjab's case and accusing the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Government of being anti-Punjab by nature, he'll emerge as a hero in the province. Any Federal action against the Punjab Government, in whatever form, would be a "blessing in disguise" and further augment his image.

Accepting "advice", Mr Nawaz Sharif has adopted a radical posture and his statements give one the impression as if he is referring to some outside enemy of Pakistan and not the government of a country of which the Punjab is a province.

Interesting, the Amir of the Jamaat-i-Islami, Qazi Husain Ahmed, has recently said that in case the Punjab Chief Minister tries to get closer to the PPP Government he'll be left alone because in that case, his party workers would leave others behind in joining the PPP.

The statement to which Punjab Chief Minister reacted very sharply was the Prime Minister's allegation that a plan had been drawn up to defeat her and her party in Punjab and that "selective rigging" had been resorted to in several constituencies.

In response, Mr Nawaz Sharif said rigging had been done in Sind, and not in the Punjab, and the defeat of very strong IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] leaders from that province was a proof of that.

Then, General Tikka Khan was appointed Governor of the Punjab who, even before being sworn-in, declared that he would put the Punjab Government on the right path. "Not only Tikka Khan but a thousand of governors like him can not do me any harm", retaliated Mr Nawaz Sharif.

'G. M. Syed of Punjab'

On another occasion, Mr Nawaz Sharif was dubbed the "G. M. Syed of the Punjab" implying that he was a separatist like the old Sindhi politician.

In reply, the Chief Minister accused not only Zulfikar Ali Bhutto but also recalled the role played by Gen. Tikka Khan in the former East Pakistan. Mr Bhutto had broken the country and a military governor was at the helm of affairs at that time in East Pakistan, Mr Nawaz Sharif said.

The dissolution of the Baluchistan Assembly provided the IJI with yet another pretext to castigate the PPP although the latter continues to deny any hand in the dismemberment of the country.

The release of political prisoners by the PPP Government also helped fuel the Centre-Punjab friction. The PPP regards such elements as heroes of the democratic struggle but the Punjab Government dubs them "murderers and dacoits".

A spokesman of the Punjab Government, who considers issuing rejoinders to the Centre and misinforming the Chief Minister as his only duty, released the list of all persons set free from the Punjab prisons. He told a news conference that the Punjab Government had decided to keep these persons under surveillance as they could again indulge in the subversive and terrorist activities. (Needless to point out that the government could keep a watch on any person who could be threat to public peace.)

Although foreign affairs is a Federal subject the Punjab Government also criticised the Centre for its behaviour at the recent SAARC Summit at Islamabad. The Punjab Cabinet took up the matter at one of its recent meetings and deplored that the Prime Minister Ms Benazir Bhutto had focused attention on the Indian Prime Minister and ignored the smaller SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] members' friendship which was in the supreme national interest.

Statements criticising the Prime Minister for her failure to raise the Kashmir issue at the SAARC Summit continue even today.

The Prime Minister's persistent clarifications that the Kashmir issue was a problem between Pakistan and India which could not be raised at the SAARC Summit because the charter of the seven-nation association did not permit it, has fallen on deaf ears. Also, her categorical statements that the matter was taken up during her bilateral talks with the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi have been ignored by her opponents and they continue to criticise her Government for missing an opportunity of bringing up the Kashmir issue at the SAARC Summit.

The Punjab Chief Minister has recently written a letter to the Governor, "advising" him not to transgress his constitutional powers. The letter—which was deliberately leaked to the Press before it reached the addressee—told the Governor that he was not competent to have direct contact with public servants nor could he call for various files and pass orders without the Chief Minister's prior consent.

Governor's Reaction

The Governor, in his comments to the Press, said that it was a "mischief" and also said he knew who was the man behind it. However, a day later, he issued an Ordinance lifting the ban on the student unions by repealing the Martial Law order under which it had been imposed about five years ago.

The Ordinance has now to go to the provincial Assembly and its rejection or adoption by it would earn the credit of restoring the democratic rights of the students to the PPP. By rejecting the Ordinance, the IJI would be inviting the students' wrath. The decision to form an IJI shadow cabinet at the Centre is also motivated by desire to continue with its radical posture, although in democratic countries it would have been a normal matter.

This correspondent heard many people say after the publication of this news item that Nawaz Sharif had mounted a rebellion and he was determined to continue with his confrontation against the Centre.

In brief, the Centre-Punjab confrontation seems likely to continue even after the by-elections and Mr Nawaz Sharif is not much concerned about the consequences.

Pakistan Said 'Not Yet Ready' for Iranian-Style Revolution

46000101b Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
5 Feb 89 p 4

[Text] Islamabad, 4 Feb—Speakers at a function held here Saturday observed that Pakistan was not yet ready for an Iranian style revolution.

The function was held to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. G. A. Allana, Vice-Chancellor of the Allama Iqbal Open University [AIOU], who chaired the meeting said it was too early to talk of an Islamic Revolution in Pakistan.

He said the revolution in Iran was brought about through a change of thinking. The people of that country, he said, were made to realise that a time for change had come. They drew inspiration from the dynamic leadership of Imam Khomeini. These were the two main factors for the revolution in Iran.

G. A. Allana said scholars in Iran were revolutionary and were aware of modern thinking. They were prepared to face all challenges.

In Pakistan, he said, there were no such scholars who could lead the people.

He said "our Ulema are more concerned about this world than the Hereafter. They are not ready to give the type of sacrifices that the Ulema did in Iran."

The AIOU Vice-Chancellor said the Iranian Revolution was also an economic revolution. Before the Revolution, he said, the poor in Iran were becoming poorer and rich were getting richer. The Islamic Revolution changed this. It showed a new way to the people of Iran.

He assured the Iranian nation that the people of Pakistan were with them and will always support their cause.

Hujatuleslam Syed Hadi Khemenei, brother of Iranian President and the chief guest said there was a time in Iran when it was America's chief ally in the region. It was closer to Washington than many Arab countries and the Philippines. Iran also supported the Zionist entity of Israel. But, Khemenei said, the Revolution had brought about a real change in Iran. Now it was bastion of Islam and was in the forefront of the struggle of the Muslim people and other oppressed nations of the world.

He said the Iranian revolutionaries drew their inspiration from Allah and His Prophet (PBUH). "We don't borrow ideology either from the West or from the East," he said.

Hujatuleslam Khemenei asked other Muslim nations to follow Iran's example. He said they would have to get up and fight for their own cause. Nobody else could do it for them.

Mr Asgharzadeh, a member of Iranian Parliament said Iran had now learnt to concentrate on domestic front rather than exporting its revolution.

He said Iranian Revolution was opposed by both the superpowers and yet it succeeded.

Agha Murtaza Pooya, a guest speaker, said the struggle of the Iranian people was a struggle between the oppressed and the oppressor. For the last 200 years, he said, the Islamic Ummah had been striving for freedom.

Islamic Revolution of Iran, Mr Pooya said, had provided the Ummah with an opportunity to fight against both Eastern and Western imperialism.

The Islamic Revolution was not a revolution for Iran only. It is an international revolution. That is why both Moscow and Washington are against it.

Mr Pooya said he believed that the Islamic revolution in Iran would one day make all the oppressed people of the world conscious of their rights. It would bring an end to their exploitation.

Commentary Views Internal Problems as Primary Security Threat

46000093b Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
21 Jan 89 p 4

[Commentary by Cassandra Balchin: "Pakistan's Security: An Alternative View"]

[Text] Security has always been a term synonymous with military and defence concerns. Pakistan's rulers have also tended to stress the need to protect "ideological borders" in addition to the country's physical boundaries. In both fields—thought and weaponry—the emphasis in "security concerns" is on external threats and problems emanating from abroad: the Afghanistan issue, the "Soviet threat", Zionist designs against Pakistan, foreign pressure regarding Pakistan's nuclear programme.

But over the past couple of years, the world's greatest military powers—those who by traditional "security logic" should feel most confident—have begun to reverse both the rhetoric of militarism and the arms race. For the first time in human atomic history nuclear weapons are effectively being declared out of consonance with the national security concerns of a large number of countries. At the 1985 Geneva Summit, Reagan and Gorbachev declared "a nuclear war can never be won and must never be fought", topping this two years later by the INF Treaty. This was the first arms control accord to actually cut missile levels and to eliminate an entire class of Soviet and American nuclear weapons.

Meanwhile more and more Governments are joining in negotiations to reduce levels of confrontation, bringing positive developments in the fields of chemical weapons, conventional disarmament, regional zones of peace and regional conflicts.

Pakistan is currently being pulled in both directions—towards the kind of multilateral and bilateral consensus and cooperation that is involved in recognising the futility of confrontation. And also towards the kind of

hostile isolationism that has arisen out of the arms race-insecurity vicious circle in the region. The first is symbolised by the recent 4th SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] Summit and the three bilateral accords signed with India. The second pull is summed up by the efforts to keep the long list of "external threats" issues alive, along with pressure on Pakistan to maintain its level of military spending at the present percentage of GNP.

The primary force behind American and Soviet recognition of the need to scale down confrontation is economic—whether it is the constraints of the U.S. Federal Budget deficit or the USSR's "perestroika". In simple terms, the leaders of the world's two main economic systems—capitalism and socialism—now see economic security as the ultimate concern. There are many indications of the strength of this analysis.

A Republican has been elected U.S. President for the third consecutive term and under a textbook analysis this should have signalled the consolidation of militarist policies in America. Yet President-elect George Bush has repeatedly pledged to continue arms control negotiations, using language perhaps traditionally more closely associated with Democratic administrations. With an overwhelming presence of anti-deficit Democrats in Congress, Bush has little choice. Meanwhile in the Soviet Union, Communist Party leaders continue their struggle to change modes of thinking and to reform the entire Soviet economic, political and social edifice despite evident resistance from very powerful pockets of vested interests. This has led to the stream of peace initiatives that have flowed from the Soviet Union since 1986.

Security Concerns

This is not to suggest that Pakistan should ape these new attitudes merely because either America and/or the Soviet Union is looking in this direction. As always, it has its own independent security concerns which should be evolved purely through consideration of national interests.

These interests it must be clarified are not those of the Government, the administration or even the military; they are the interests of the landless peasants, small farmers, industrial workers, labourers who make up the vast majority of the country's population, and who are the democratic base of any form of representative government in Pakistan be it parliamentary democracy or socialism.

The fundamental question is whether national interests as defined above are truly being served by the emphasis on "external threats" when this inevitably means giving lower priority to "internal threats" such as:

- a 26 percent literacy rate
- a child mortality rate of 170 in 1,000
- 80 percent rural households without drinking water

- per capita GNP [gross national product] under Rs. 8,000 a year
- Rs. 34,537 million foreign debt
- subsistence agriculture
- regionalism
- weakness of democratic institutions

Obsession with "external threats" is apparently a luxury the people of Pakistan simply cannot afford.

Paradoxically, giving rightful priority to economic security does not mean Pakistan's international isolation. Far from it, while it is one of the world's most privileged countries in terms of natural and human resources, Pakistan cannot combat its "internal threats" without the cooperation of other countries. Technical assistance, technology transfers and bi- and multilateral trade accords will have to be sought from any country or institution which can guarantee assistance not conflicting with the people's interests.

Pakistan has yet to fully probe the possibilities of cooperation in its struggle for self-reliant development. Traditional "security logic" has meant a mere 2.6 percent of the country's trade is with SAARC countries and 2.8 percent with the COMECON [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] group. Economic ties with the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] group of developed countries on the other hand have given Pakistan its billion dollar debt accompanied by economic reform recommendations that have already put negative pressure on average living standards.

Apart from concern over how far such economic practices genuinely contribute to development, it is also clear from world history that underdevelopment breeds tension—both internally and regionally.

'Balance of Power'

Prospects for long-term economic development—and therefore the preservation of national security—are seriously threatened by another factor: environmental deterioration. Instability in the ecological balance as much as the destabilisation of the "balance of power" threatens the survival of the planet and all life forms.

While there is a growing segment of opinion in Pakistan that peace and economic developments are "legitimate security concerns", the protection of the environment is still largely ignored. From unregulated dumping of industrial waste in the air, soil and water, to deforestation and desertification, Pakistan is well on the way to an ecological disaster. Again, since air and waters are shared with our neighbours and factories belonging to foreign companies are also involved, environmental problems cannot be solved in isolation and under conditions of global and regional tension.

Security analysed in traditional militarist terms has not served the people of Pakistan well—nor of any other country for that matter. Pakistanis still feel insecure, they and their country are poor, and they face a deteriorating environment. We need a fresh analysis of security concerns which focusses on peace, economic development and a balanced ecology. At present we are our own worst enemy.

Commentary Calls For Repeal of Hudood Laws
46000093a Karachi *DAWN* in English 25 Jan 89 p 7

[Commentary by Sabiha Sumar: "Women and Hudood Laws"; a presentation on behalf of the Committee for the Repeal of the Hudood Ordinances]

[Text] The year 1988 has been a historic one for Pakistan and the Muslim world. The general elections brought to power the Islamic World's first woman Prime Minister. In addition, last month Pakistan had honour of providing the first woman chairperson for the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation], Ms Benazir Bhutto, who also marked her presence as SAARC's youngest chairperson.

This momentous breakthrough provides a unique opportunity for addressing the question of discrimination against Pakistani women. Ms Bhutto's success can mean not only legal equality for women, but also a commitment to restoring equality for women in society as a whole by inculcating in the people the sense of women's worth—not only in stereotyped roles as mothers, daughters and sisters, but as equal individuals. We need to rethink the role of women and bring to the forefront of the debate women's secondary position within the home, discrimination in workplaces, the right of equal pay for equal work and recognition of the large number of women who are part of the informal labour force. Already, with the coming of a woman Prime Minister, certain changes are visible, small though they may be. Women's presence in the media which was marginalised during General Zia's era has resurged. Faces that are inextricably linked to our social and cultured milieu and which had been wiped off the television screen are now beginning to reappear. Not only that, the SAARC programmes on television have also brought Pakistani women closer to the women of the South Asian region—all of whom, though they come from different cultural backgrounds, share a certain commonality in their view of the world. Certainly, today there is great hope that the women of Pakistan will breathe freely.

The legacy of authoritarian rule, however, looms large. One of the most draconian measures applied against women in Pakistan by the Martial Law regime was the Zina Ordinance. Zina (sex out of wedlock) is part of the Hudood Ordinances which were the first set of Islamic laws introduced in 1979 and later confirmed by Mr Mohammad Khan Junejo's government in 1985. Whilst

the Hudood Ordinances as a whole sanction punishments such as stoning to death, whipping and cutting of hands, the Zina Ordinance exemplifies the way in which a legal code is created to legitimise discrimination against women.

Women and men who are unable to make choices about their marriage partner because of family pressures have eloped and found themselves charged with Zina. The assumption is that when any couple elope sex must take place. Women who have sought divorce are threatened into submission by fear of being charged with Zina. A husband simply has to file a complaint that he suspects his wife of adultery. For the police, a vague description of the alleged lover suffices; an FIR is issued and the woman is put in jail where she may await trial for eight to ten years.

Whereas Zina applies to adultery and fornication, and Zina-bil-Jabr to rape, the onus of providing proof in a rape case rests on the woman herself. If she is unable to convince the court, her allegation that she has been raped is in itself considered a confession of Zina (sex outside marriage) and the rape victim effectively implicates herself and is liable for punishment.

Furthermore, the concept of rape as defined in the Hudood Ordinances defies a basic biological fact that a woman cannot rape a man. Rape laws all over the world carry a certain bias against women and the accused is often freed on grounds that the women may have seduced him. But since seduction implies consent on the part of the man, as opposed to rape which is pure force, a woman cannot be termed a rapist. Yet, ours is the only country where a woman can actually be punished for raping a man.

These were some of the injustices of the Hudood Ordinances that led to the formation of the Committee for the Repeal of the Hudood Ordinance. Committee members visited Karachi Central Jail, collected data and published articles informing the public about the situation of women in jail.

In November 1987, Shahida Parveen and her second husband, Mohammad Sarwar, were charged with adultery and convicted to death by stoning in public. At that time the committee decided to accelerate its campaign—three advertisements were published in *DAWN*, *JANG* and *THE MUSLIM* informing the public of the injustices of the Zina Ordinance, demanding the repeal of the Hudood Ordinances, and, at the same time, demanding that all charges made under the Zina Ordinance be withdrawn immediately. The response to the advertisements was tremendous—women, men, and even school children wrote to affirm their commitment to a just society. As a result of this huge public outcry Shahida's and Sarwar's sentence was finally quashed. But the Hudood Ordinances still remain with us today.

For a Government that has made a public commitment to human rights, the repeal of the Hudood Ordinances is relatively easy. According to the Eighth Amendment only the laws specified in the Seventh Schedule can be repealed by a two-thirds majority. All other laws, made during the Martial Law regime, including the Hudood Ordinances, can be repealed according to the normal legislative procedure.

The normal procedure is that a bill passed by the National Assembly goes to the Senate. If the Senate rejects it, the bill will be considered in a joint sitting of the two Houses. This means that 237 members of the National Assembly and 87 members of the Senate will jointly consider the bill, and if a majority votes for the repeal, Ordinances will stand annulled.

The voting pattern in the vote of confidence for the Prime Minister and the election of the Senate Chairman indicates that PPP [Pakistan People's Party] has the support of 148 MNAs [Member of National Assembly] and 25 Senators. Three MNAs from the BNA [expansion unknown], two from ANP [Awami National Party] and Mr Khar who abstained from voting in the Premier's vote of confidence are also likely to support the repeal. It can, therefore, be safely assumed that the requisite number of votes for the repeal of these laws would be available.

The task becomes difficult, however, if we account for opposition from the minuscule fundamentalist lobby which wants to impose its biases on the majority of Pakistani society. Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that General Zia had dismissed the democratically elected Government in 1977 on the grounds that he was going to change Pakistan into a truly Islamic State. The obvious victims of the Islamisation process that followed were the most vulnerable elements of our society—women and the poor. The need of the hour, then is to see the Hudood Ordinances as political laws, rather than as the word of God.

The Committee calls upon the PPP Government to adhere to the promise made in the manifesto of repealing the Hudood Ordinances and proceed singlemindedly to

this end. The Committee will stand by the government and offer its fullest support for the repeal of the Hudood Ordinances. In fact, as a mark of its support, the Committee is now beginning a campaign to educate the Pakistani public on the present situation of women languishing in jails under the Zina Ordinance.

Following the Prime Minister's announcement to free all women prisoners, except those convicted for murder, committee members visited Karachi Central Jail. They were informed that the Prime Minister's decision only applies to women convicted for crimes other than murder. Under the order, three female convicts (not convicted for murder) had been released, while sixty-four under-trial women and thirty-one children are still in jail. Of these, thirty-one women are charged with Zina.

The reality of our legal system is such that the trial period often outruns the actual sentence. For example, Rahima awaited trial for Zina for four years. When finally convicted her sentence was four months' imprisonment.

Today in Karachi Central Jail, women have been awaiting trial since 1980. To cite only one example, Sakina Ghulam Hyder has been in jail since June 22, 1980 together with her two children. Her father filed a complaint against her when she refused to be sold for a third time to a man in exchange for bride-price. Another woman, Razia Zafarullah, has been in prison since November 10, 1983, again charged under the Zina Ordinance for marrying a second time after a divorce. Of the thirty-one women charged for Zina, only two are prostitutes. The rest are women like Sakina Ghulam Hyder and Razia Zafarullah who have only asserted their right to live in dignity.

In view of the fact that three thousand women are affected by this law every year, it is incumbent on the Government to repeal the Hudood Ordinances. As immediate relief to those suffering under this oppressive law, the Government should direct the Provincial Governments to withdraw all cases pending under the Zina (Enforcement of Hudood) Ordinances, 1979.

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